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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL

Unity of Soviet Foreign and Domestic Policies (O. N. Melikyan; RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 5, 1979)	1
Public Opinion in the Fight for Disarmament (I. M. Lokshin; RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 5, 1979)	12
Italian CP Attacked for 'Fault-Finding' Attitude (G. P. Smirnov; RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 5, 1979)	23

NATIONAL

New Soviet Constitution Furthers Socialist Democracy (R. Kh. Vil'danov; RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 5, 1979)	35
Business Meetings Held To Discuss Law and Order (Ye. Man'ko, V. Khalin; PRAVDA, 3 Nov 79)	45
Economic Leaders Must Stress Education (A. Aleskin; PRAVDA, 2 Nov 79)	50

REGIONAL

Shevardnadze Addresses Georgian Party, Economic Aktiv Meeting (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 23 Nov 79)	54
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INTERNATIONAL

UNITY OF SOVIET FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES

Moscow RABOCHIIY KLASS I SOVREMENNIY MIR in Russian No 5, 1979 pp 3-12

[Article by O.N. Melikyan: "Unity of Domestic and Foreign Policy of CPSU"]

[Text] With the continuing development of socialism, the role of the organizational and ideological-political activity of the Marxist-Leninist party grows and being filled with increasingly deepened content. The social forces put into motion by it create the experience of history, the experience of revolution and multiply its gains under new historical conditions.

This position, expressing an objective principle which finds its striking manifestation in the activities of the CPSU, finds its further substantiation in the seventh volume of the works of L.I. Brezhnev "Leninskim kursom" [Leninist Course].* The inclusion of new generations of Soviet people into the cause of the October Revolution is emphasized in the book; it predetermines the high degree of responsibility, which voluntarily and through conviction is assumed by new generations of communists. Responsibility for everything: "both for success and for failure," for the achievement of such a level of organization and consciousness and of such development of productive forces as would make communist ideals into a reality.

From this point of view, a tremendous role in the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work is played by the reminiscences of L.I. Brezhnev opening the book "Malaya zemlya" [Little Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], "Tselina" [Virgin Lands]. And this is proper. The leitmotif of these memoirs, received as literary-publicistic works, is that of deeply moving themes of the vanguard role of the communist in the area of socialist human relations; topical problems of an ideological-moral nature and of motivation of a party member; problems of the Leninist style of guidance of social life, and so on. All this subject matter, permeated through and through with the philosophy of revolutionary practices and ideas of communist conduct of life, emerges in the form of a lofty moral narrative by a man who has undergone the testing of fighting for socialism and communism both in the years of the war and in peacetime. Such a combination--the penetration of scientific,

* Brezhnev, L.I., "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [Leninist Course. Speeches, Welcoming Speeches, Articles, Reminiscences], Vol 7. Moscow, 1979.

logical depth and order, revolutionary humanistic aspiration and practical political realism--constitutes the secret of the attraction of the memoirs of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the memoirs, which can be conceived as an encyclopedia of human relations, feelings and frames of mind, there has been created a whole gallery of unforgettable images of communists; their role is dynamically and comprehensively characterized in each concrete situation for each moment of the socialist creativity of the masses.

The bases are thus created of party attitude toward people, to the display of their strong and weak sides and and finally to entire courses of human fates with their joys and tragedies. But the point is not just this, nor the literary-publicistic merits of the memoirs, which have been awarded the Lenin Prize, the point is the global-scale idea of the fusion of the grandiose plans of the party with a humane approach to the problems of each man's fate, not depending on whether it is heroic or insignificant, outstanding or ordinary. From this stems the universal-constructive significance of these books to the practical activity of communists.

L.I. Brezhnev's memoirs do not simply deal with the psychological nuances in the style of leadership but with something significantly broader, with the nature of the policy of our party--the organization of workers for the solution of tasks of communist construction, on the one hand, and with the active participation of the masses in the management of society, on the other. In the achievement of effective results from this truly capacious in the historical sense dialectic, an important role is played by the contribution of each communist, especially of the leader, since around him are grouped and unite with him their moods, needs and thoughts the direct producers of social benefits and creators of history; to people the style of dealing with those who by the character of their work make responsible decisions is not a matter of indifference. Success in the solution of set tasks immediately depends on direct communication and feedback and on its content; moreover, it is important here to catch long-term basic tendencies.

In reference to this problem, L.I. Brezhnev's memoirs constitute an exceptionally valuable synthesis of scientific-practical recommendations for the complex development of human relations today--in socialist production, in everyday life and so on. The critical thinking of the leader of Soviet communists and of our state is extremely pertinent in this connection in regard to what qualities of a party and operational worker in our time are unacceptable and how they can be overcome. He writes: "I find the trait of raising the voice in regard to people which persists in some persons, even though it not be widespread. Neither an operational or a party leader should forget that his subordinates are only subordinates because of their work and that they serve not a director or a head but the cause of the party and the state. In this sense all are equal. Those who permit themselves to diverge from this truth, which is immovable in our system, hopelessly compromise themselves and undermine their authority. A committed breach must carry responsibility: party, administrative and judicial--no matter which. In no way may the self-respect of people be hurt, nor should their dignity be ridiculed"

(p 30). "I have never been an adherent of the rude, shouting, or as they say, 'strong-willed' method of leadership. If a man has been frightened, he will not assume responsibility... We need... not to shackle but rather to support the broadest initiative" (p 80).

The commanding style of leadership, L.I. Brezhnev points out, inevitably brings in its wake subjectivism and libertarianism, that is, a separation from real conditions and brewing problems and needs. This style finds its most faulty manifestation in the theory and practice of Maoism and in its anti-Marxist slogan "politics is command force."

Good will, courtesy, attention to one's comrades, absence of libertarianism and the like are essential. In other words, moral loftiness is required, that is, self-possession, adherence to principle, humaneness--in general, those traits of character which help to bring people together rather than to alienate and set them up one against the other. The ability to order, to coerce and strong-willed administrative methods are only necessary for the party worker under extraordinary circumstances; when displayed in excess under ordinary circumstances, they pervert the very nature of political guidance, which should consist of methods that elucidate and convince and try to enter into a dialog with people.

The book emphasizes that there is no work in the world that is more fascinating, difficult and wonderful than the work of a communist with people. It does not call for loud speeches but merely consists of candid, trustful dealing with them; the main thing in it is the right tone. "People are different, and you have to talk differently with them, and sometimes silence can be eloquent" (p 98).

The leader of the Soviet communists warns against a predilection for a "theoretical" style of direction, a certain tendency of some workers to consider themselves the only ones with indisputable authority. "Contemporary economics, politics and public life are so complex, that they can be made subservient only to the powerful collective intelligence. And it is necessary to listen to specialists, and not just of one direction or of one school, it is necessary to know how to seek advice of the people in order to avoid any sort of "distortions," premature, not carefully thought out tough decisions" (p 135).

A memory for people, especially for good people in a party worker is both a humane duty and a professional obligation. Mixing with them, it is emphasized in the book, is always necessary. It enriches and strengthens the tie with life and helps one to learn the ideas, interests and needs of people. "Finally, it is simply a pleasant thing to discover a good man for oneself" (p 74).

Here they are, thoughts that fall within the compass of our reality. The concrete course of creating a new civilization largely depends on the type of man, on the type of collectives of people taking part in the concrete realization of tasks of economic and cultural growth. The task of party organizational work is to unite the capabilities of man, the potential possibilities

heretofore possibly not disclosed in him, as well as for whole collectives, with all the advantages inherent in the very nature of socialism. "In a word," L.I. Brezhnev writes, "speaking in the language of Lenin, the selection of those links, which if grabbed hold of would enable us to pull out the entire chain, is as before of decisive significance to us" (p 68). And, thinking into the laconic lines of this statement, penetrating deeper into an analysis of the reminiscences as a historical source and a practical guide, we involuntarily feel internally with perfect clarity the fact the concrete collective is today such a chief link. And dependence on those who in the collective "are capable of the most daring plans" (p 83) will permit us to pull out the chain of the most diverse production and other problems and to achieve a real benefit from the individual's contribution to the collective creative work. Today as never before, under the influence of scientific-technical personnel in production collectives, the role of the psychological factor is growing and together with it the role of the communist leader with the sensibility of a competent "engineer of human souls." Of course, problems of plan fulfillment, observance of labor discipline, struggle with the psychology of "perhaps it will work out somehow" do not remain on the secondary plane in the work of the modern party worker and leader. This requires of the leader not only a deep knowledge of a professional, narrowly specialized character but also a sober, comprehensive consideration of real factors and the real condition of the psychological temper of the collective. In its turn, the collective sensitively grasps and reacts to the traits of character of their supervisor. It is not a matter of indifference to it as to who he is and whether he is capable of listening to people who come with a useful initiative or of "freezing" the initiative with an overbearing point of view. For the members of the collective even the external side of his behavior is important. L.I. Brezhnev writes: "The supervisor is always on view and for this reason he cannot show any perplexity or weakness. Regardless of how he might feel, he must be collected and alert, and his nerves must be kept on leash so that people receive a charge of confidence from him. Sometimes we underestimate the role of humor, but very often a joke can help things" (p 97).

It is worth thinking into some other lines dealing with a description of the picture of a modern party supervisor. "In demanding initiative of people, the party supervisor must at difficult moments take them under his protection and accept the blow on himself" (p 103). Such a complex approach to supervision excludes heartless "managerism" and technocratism. In this lies the tremendous contribution of our socialist society, the guarantee of our future successes in the solution of complex and most difficult tasks of social direction. To preserve and multiply the wealth and gains of the Leninist style of leadership means to create a solid foundation for further fruitful development of operational and party forms and methods of management.

An important role in organizational and ideological-political activities of the party is played by a circumspect attitude toward cadres, toward questions of criticism and self-criticism. It is well known that criticism must be not merely verbal but applied and therefore constructive. In this connection, the author of the reminiscences, on the basis of his own experience, concentrates

the attention of readers on those aspects of criticism, which provide it with a constructive content. Disclosing the morally contradictory state of an individual at the moment of criticism, he indicates how to get out of the "bind" of the situation. "In life I have had to listen to different comments," L.I. Brezhnev writes, "and, no matter how difficult it might have been, I tried to extract from them a rational kernel, and I made serious conclusions which in the end always went to the benefit of both myself and the work. Criticism from above, however, is generally accepted in some measure or other, but it is much more difficult when it comes to criticism from below. Sometimes it happened you heard an angry speaker and even caught yourself becoming hostile toward him: "What a louse, picking on people!" But I can put my hand on my heart and say: there is not one instance where in the wake of such remarks directed at me I changed my attitude toward the person" (p 112). Positive criticism is always socially useful. And based on mutual respect and mutual understanding between its subject and object, it, as a form of active social intercourse, "creates in real Bolsheviks a drive, zeal is born in place of dissatisfaction and the desire to work better" (p 112).

Sharing a belief in most of the leading philosophers, literary figures and artists both of the distant past and of contemporaneity, L.I. Brezhnev develops in his memoirs the theme of the concrete search for optimal ways of opening up the creative possibilities of man. The elevation of the spiritual forces of man, as is clearly shown in the memoirs, is the goal of communist construction and at the same time the means of its successful realization. The creation of a material-technical base for communism cannot be imagined when separated from the development of the individual just as it would be impossible for one to imagine this without relating this to the process of transformation of socialist social relations into communist. Such a general criterion of the progress of our society as the development of productive forces is connected to the degree of harmonization of the individual. The harmonious development of the individual first presupposes awareness of people, their lofty spiritual needs and ideological-political and moral qualities. Efficiency and quality of production and flourishing of culture and science depend on this, especially under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. All the work of party, state and public organizations is permeated with concern for the education of the individual. When we read L.I. Brezhnev's reminiscences, we find a truly grandiose panorama of the party's ideological-educational work. This is how it was in the period of the Great Patriotic war, in the difficult years of the country's postwar rebirth and in the course of the glorious virgin-lands epic. The organization of the national feat and the ability of the party to be the spiritual leader of the masses and the inspirer of mass heroism constitute one of the key themes of L.I. Brezhnev's recollections, disclosed deeply and with penetration. The elucidation of the special features of the organizational and ideological-political work conducted under such conditions contains in the highest degree instructive conclusions that find their embodiment, for example, in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

But another side is no less significant. On a number of occasions we had the opportunity to read memoirs of major state and military figures of our time.

Both in the past and at the present time, they were primarily written during free moments of time. The outstanding leader of the party and the state L.I. Brezhnev writes his recollections in the thick of public-political life, in the midst of constant concerns relating to the implementation of Lenin's behests, in a difficult and extremely contradictory international situation and during an unceasing struggle for peace. Due to this, the reminiscences are logically within a general context of topical questions of theory and policy of the CPSU as elucidated in the seventh volume of L.I. Brezhnev's works "Leninskim kursom" [Leninist Course], reconstituting the organic connection of different times into one historical process.

A direct creative tie exists between L.I. Brezhnev reminiscences and his speeches at the July and November (1978) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and his speeches of greetings to labor collectives and innovators of production. The constantly operating tendencies of deepening and expansion of the organizational work of communists in the solution of urgent national-economic problems are to be found in utmost clarity within the single context of the connection of the labor activities of different generations of Soviet people. Among them are problems of a conscious and organized labor for the common good.

L.I. Brezhnev considers necessary the further improvement of the unique process of interaction of production not just with science but also with culture "understood in the broadest sense of the word as the culture of labor, living and human relations" (p 434). On the basis of an all-round and detailed analysis of these important problems, the book contains a conclusion that "there where we are dealing with millions of people and with the conditions of their life, labor and everyday conditions, a most serious policy for communists begins and the main line of their organizational and ideological-political work is drawn" (p 436).

At the center of attention are such themes as improving the quality of life of the laboring masses, acceleration of the development of group B sectors, reorganization of the system of material and moral stimulation in labor collectives, strengthening of labor, industrial and planning discipline, improvement of the forms and methods of socialist competition and many others. Connected to them is the conclusion of the important, pertinent significance of moral-psychological factors both in the struggle for maximum productive work by each labor collective and by each of its members and in the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance toward slackers, slipshod workers and embezzlers of public property. The author notes that in many collectives where a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere has become established, labor has been transformed through necessity into a deep internal need, which opens up room for the self-development of the individual. Practice confirms how timely and far-seeing in the matter of improvement of human relations in production is the legislative incorporation in the labor collective of broad rights in the solution of most important state affairs connected with planning of production and social development, cadre training and placement, improvement of the working and living conditions of people, upgrading of their qualifications and the inculcation in them of a communist attitude toward labor.

In a word, the real range of rights of the labor collective shows how the Leninist approach to the assessment of the broad possibilities of the working class in the management of public production in the course of socialist changes is being put into practice. The concept of the labor collective, which is deeply validated in L.I. Brezhnev's book, provides a strong ideological weapon against bourgeois and opportunist doctrines in today's battle of ideas, inasmuch as it brings to the awareness of millions of workers the nature of socialist democracy, discloses the meaning of the broad and active democratic rights of the individual and recreates a real picture of a dynamically developing socialist society.

"Soviet democracy can and must serve even better economic progress," L.I. Brezhnev points out, "while economic progress has been and will continue to be the foundation, the material basis for increasingly more complete guarantee of the rights and freedoms of Soviet people and for the further flourishing of socialist democracy" (621).

The broader the scale of building of communism and unflagging strengthening of the country as of the socialist community and the more responsible the questions of struggle for preservation and consolidation of peace, the deeper is the influence of the party on the entire domestic life of the country and its foreign policy.

The grandiose panorama of the contemporary world engraved in this book is exceptionally complex and diverse. There appear before its readers the unforgettable war and post war years, the characteristic traits and features of the present stage of the struggle of two socially opposed systems, battles in the sphere of the national-liberation movement, class fighting within capitalist states, revolutionary changes in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Iran and finally acute international problems connected with the situation in the Near East, in South Africa, with the expansionist policy of Beijing in Southeast Asia and aggression against socialist Vietnam. The elimination of the existing foci of tension, it is emphasized in the book, will require many efforts. And the irreversibility of revolutionary changes in the historical plane has already been irrefutably proven.

This is connected in tremendous measure to the decisive factor of our days--the creative activities of communists. Their political-educational ideological work on the scale of the entire community of socialist countries is based on the unity of national and international factors in the realization by Marxist-Leninist parties of the responsible role of inspirer and organizer of the masses in the struggle for communism. The militant union of the ruling parties of the socialist community is connected today indissolubly with the development of the creative activities of the Marxists-Leninists of this community as a whole.

The opponents of communism tend to imagine the socialist world as something that is monotonous, where ostensibly everything and everyone are unified. The reality of vital, difficult and extraordinarily interesting work of tens

and hundreds of millions of people building a new life and new socialist international relations testifies to the very opposite: to the wealth and diversity of the forms and methods of the work of communists in socialist reconstruction of society. "The achievements of the socialist community taken as a whole," L.I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "constitute the brightest revolutionary achievement of contemporaneity. The combined experience of the socialism that has been built (naturally, it was foisted on no one) represents an outstanding achievement of the whole international working class. This experience helps all revolutionary forces operating on a national soil to find a reliable way to liberation from the absolute power of capitalism and to the building of socialism" (p 544).

The problem of socialist internationalism is given a most thorough and systematic exposition in L.I. Brezhnev's works. Reading the pages dealing with it, we see how important are the unity and solidarity of the countries of the socialist community, how fruitful are the results of their friendship and cooperation, how the very existence of ruling communist and workers parties in these countries, their creative interaction and their peace-loving activity in the international arena exert a gigantic and quite determinative influence on the course of world social development, of world politics and of the struggle for peace.

It should be most definitely noted that the stability and durability of the successes of the struggle for peace depend first of all on how real and vital their base is and on what forces determine the continuation of this process. It is in particular such an objective basis as socialism which has turned out to be the only social system that is capable of translating into the language of practical affairs the peace-loving aspirations of the broadest masses of the people. It is therefore no accident but quite in accordance with law that the attractive force of the practical activities of the countries of the socialist community with reference to ensuring peace on earth over the course of several decades has contributed to transformation of the movement of revolutionary and peace-loving forces into the most powerful factor of our epoch.

Great is the role of the peoples of the fraternal countries, all progressive people on earth, the Leninist course of the CPSU, the activities of its Central Committee headed by L.I. Brezhnev in those positive changes which are taking place in the international arena. "I hate war and all that gives rise to it," L.I. Brezhnev writes. "I am proud that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and my country are in the front ranks of the forces of peace, the struggle against the danger of a world catastrophe and against the arms race" (p 199). And later on: "Our party and our people have been, are and always will be faithful to the cause of peace. For us, defense of peace is defense of socialism, the defense of a bright future for all mankind" (pp 224). "I think that the victory of communism in a group of countries does not require that capitalist ways disappear throughout the entire world. This is not at all necessary: If we were to speak of external conditions, it requires something else: elimination of the threat of wars, shifting of military expenditures to the needs of construction, and it requires peace for today, for tomorrow and for all time" (p 545).

These and other compact, generalized theses of the book convincingly show the nature of the problem of unity of foreign and domestic policy, the ties of internationalism with the principles of international relations, the interaction of the ideas of humanism with global problems of contemporaneity. This permits the reader to understand not only the present but also to see it as a moment of becoming of the future, a moment of movement, of process leading to what are still hidden horizons of new world relations.

Foreign policy as one of the most important spheres of operation of states is distinguished by many specific features. One of its traits is that it is to a larger degree than any other field of activity of a state connected to the interests of other peoples; its proclaimed aims may be juxtaposed against concrete actions in the international arena; in this way, the world community acquires a real possibility of judging the character of the foreign policy of this or that state or group of states according to actual actions they have taken.

On this plane, a very graphic and convincing indicator of foreign policy is the degree of activity in the struggle against the threat of thermonuclear war, since no other alternative for the existence of civilization and mankind itself under the conditions of a nuclear epoch actually exists. In evaluating the significance of problems of struggle for real disarmament affecting the fate of each individual on earth, L.I. Brezhnev concentrates the attention of readers namely on this basic problem of our life: "It is namely here, in this direction that the root question of how international situations will develop in the future is being resolved, it is namely here that a most acute struggle is now in process of unfoldment" (p 264).

It would be impossible to bypass, for example, the statements emanating from the opposition bloc of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union in the FRG, which recently again came out with a call for growth of military efforts and, if things be called by their proper name, and for outright military-political pressure on the Soviet Union and its friends. Describing NATO as a weapon "weakening of military confrontation" and an instrument of "ensuring peace in Europe and throughout the whole world," attributing to the Soviet state "expansionist aims" in foreign policy and accusing it of "direct and indirect interventions throughout the whole world," the leaders of the Christian-Democratic opposition in the FRG demand "immediate carrying out of additional arming and modernization of NATO," "deciding in favor of production and location of neutron weapons" and the like. In a word, they are working for continuation of the arms race.

L.I. Brezhnev's book discloses the perniciousness of such a course, since in pushing the world toward war, the arms race threatens the very right of man to life. History teaches: in several thousands of years more than three and a half billion persons have been destroyed in the abyss of wars. Even in the years of World War I, the basic gains of science and technology were put in the service of destruction to such an extent that the result was hunger, decline of productive force encompassing a large number of countries. The horrors of mass destruction during the period of World War II will always

remain in the memory of people. In our nuclear age, in several hours, together with material and spiritual culture, a greater number of people could be destroyed than in the entire history of the human race.

Therefore any sort of beating on war drums or playing of the "Chinese card" by other sowers of lies about the "Soviet threat," while it does not speak of strengthening of the positions of the reactionary forces in international relations, it still creates psychological tension in the world and again and again forces us to return to the horrible lessons of history.

Those pages of the book are of tremendous interest where there are described calmly and with restraint and in the spirit of historical optimism and search for contacts and the development of a dialog with realist thinkers among the ruling circles of the Western states, the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, striving step by step to improve the international atmosphere, to strengthen peace and security of peoples and to weaken opposition in relations among states with different social systems, notably the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Testimony to their constructive approach to problems of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and detente is to be found in the Treaty on Limitation of Strategic Offensive Armaments, signed in Vienna, and also other Soviet-American documents adopted in the course of the meeting of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L.I. Brezhnev and U.S. President J. Carter.

The international relations of our day are distinguished by special dynamism, saturation with events of great political and economic significance, a profusion of steps and initiatives relating to major problems of contemporaneity. And it is not just a matter of expanding the scale of foreign-political, economic and culture activities of states but the fact there have grown to a tremendous degree in importance and immediacy problems which have to be solved and which are being solved in relations between states. Whereas whole decades were required for the solution of this or that major international question, today the actual tempo of world development does not allow such a possibility. The most urgent world problems pertaining to the fates not only of individual states but of all mankind require that their solution be initiated even now, without waiting for the future. This is not a reference to haste, which would be incompatible with the complexity of these problems, but with a demanding need for their immediate solution.

This is why there is such a symptomatic and urgent sound to L.I. Brezhnev's reminder on the transition after the signing of the Agreement on SALT 2 the next stage of the agreements in the field of limitations of strategic and offensive armaments that "it would be a true turning point on the road to military detente" (p 235). The conviction is stated in the book that any problems are solvable in our time "if they be approached calmly and deliberately, with a desire to understand the partner and to avoid arousing the passions and exacerbating disagreements. In the presence of good will it becomes possible for both sides to look ahead with optimism" (p 304).

Many pages of the book deal with questions of the prospects of cooperation of the Soviet Union with West-European countries. Reference is made to cooperation in key sectors of science and technology, exchange of industrial experience and fruits of scientific-technical thought and the development of effective forms of cooperation and specialization of production. "Europe more than others would gain from detente," L.I. Brezhnev writes, "despite the big, in our view, and excessive concentration of armaments and troops in this region. It has felt so far less than others the influence of those negative processes, which oppose detente as the chief direction of international development. To prevent being turned off, to have concord grow and strengthen among states will require much work" (p 638).

On the basis of the multiplicity of undoubted signs contained in the book of dynamic interest in world coexistence of states with different social systems --L.I. Brezhnev's meetings with Western European state figures, correspondence with representatives of business circles of Western Europe--it is possible to judge of planned new advances involving closer relations in the political, economic and other fields, meeting the interests of peoples and the cause of peace and detente.

Free of any "Euro-centrist" illusions, the author of the book constantly devotes much attention to problems of cooperation with the peoples of other continents of our planet. "The facts attest," he notes, "that the more successfully the peoples of the young states defend and assert their independence and their vital interests, the more durable the unity and solidarity of these states and the more durable their friendship with the countries of the socialist world on whose support they can depend in any just matter" (p 298).

Peace should be understood as a dynamic, unceasing and constantly changing process. And, of course, L.I. Brezhnev's book does not leave the slightest doubt that the policy of peaceful coexistence of statements with different systems has nothing in common with the "freezing" of the social status quo.

"Consistently and unceasingly implementing the Leninist policy of peace and construction," L.I. Brezhnev writes, "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people have supported and will support those who come out in favor of strengthening of peace, for friendship and mutual understanding between peoples, for freedom, democracy and social progress" (p 231).

Unity of domestic and foreign policy, constant struggle for peace, for democratization of international relations, for a better future for all mankind, for a communist future--such is the basic content of the course of the CPSU, the Leninist course in action.

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INTERNATIONAL

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE FIGHT FOR DISARMAMENT

Moscow RABOCHIIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 5, 1979 pp 22-31

[Article by G.M. Lokshin: "The Role of Public Opinion in the Fight for Disarmament"]

[Text] Disarmament is one of the most complex problems that mankind has ever had to face. But the need for its solution is clear. "Today," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stated in the Summary Report at the 25th CPSU Congress, "this problem is more acute than at any time before. Mankind is tired of living sitting on mountains of armaments, but the arms race, whipped up by the aggressive circles of imperialism, is growing."¹

The successful culmination of Soviet-American talks that lasted seven years and the signature of the new Treaty on Limitation of Strategic Offensive Armaments convincingly proves that in the presence of political will and with the observance of certain principles first of all such as equality and no damage to the security of either of the sides the achievement of a reasonable agreement is possible even in such a technically complex field as the limitation of the most sophisticated, the most modern and most powerful armaments possessed by two of the strongest power in a military sense.

"The full implementation of the documents signed in Vienna opens up new possibilities for putting a stop to the building up of arsenals of nuclear-missile weapons and ensuring their effective quantitative and qualitative limitation," it is stated in the Decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers: "On the Results of the Meeting of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L.I. Brezhnev with U.S. President J. Carter."²

World public opinion has correctly evaluated the success of the Soviet-American meeting at the highest level as an outstanding victory of reason and realism. It inspires all peace-loving forces of contemporaneity to even more active actions, instills in them confidence that a decisive shift in the matter of putting a stop to the arms race is possible and realistic.

At the same time the peace-loving forces of the public clearly realize that strong opponents exist in the matter of putting a stop to the arms race. A new confirmation of this is to be found in the furious propaganda campaign which is now unleashed in the United States against ratification of the Agreement on SALT 2. These are first of all imperialist circles, monopolies that are interested in the constantly expanding production of weapons and in increasing their stockpiles as a means of profit and at the same time as a means of subjecting to themselves independent countries and peoples and imposing their will on them.

A most important component of the fight of the peace-loving public for disarmament is the constant and active exposure of ideological myths aimed at justification of the arms race. This purpose is served by a thesis disseminated by the advocates of military-industrial complexes in the West to the effect that the economic growth of developed capitalist countries is ostensibly impossible without a tremendous and constantly growing military budget. In addition to the frightening of broad strata of the population of capitalist countries with the nonexistent "military threat" on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, this false thesis is also being actively used by the tremendous propaganda machine of the opponents of detente and disarmament in order to disorient workers and dull their vigilance and activity in the struggle against the arms race.

In foreign scientific literature dealing with these problems, works of authors predominate who, fulfilling the social order of the military-industrial complex, eloquently describe the imaginary and real difficulties of conversion and frighten the inhabitant with "catastrophic," "destabilizing" consequences of any significant reduction of military production. One cannot but help see that the "arguments" of these authors, which are picked up and widely disseminated by the mass information media, exert an influence on certain social strata and, of course, on those workers who are directly employed in armament production or are closely connected to it. This influence is all the more significant under conditions of the exacerbating problem of employment in the leading capitalist countries.

It is therefore no accident that this aspect of disarmament, connected with its economic and social consequences, especially the problem of conversion, that is, the reorganization of the economic system in the course of reduction of armaments and disarmament, increasingly draws the attention of scholars, trade-union workers and broad circles of the peace-loving public in general.³

This increasing influence in a problem which at the present time has at first glance only a pure hypothetical character expresses first of all the sharply growing desire of the popular masses to put an end to the arms race. The severe consequences of the arms race on its tremendous scale are so obvious that among the broad strata of the population of most of the capitalist countries of the West faith has already been undermined in the fact that

capitalism is capable of providing the people both with cannon and butter. This circumstance stimulates searches for a real alternative to the endless growth of military budgets and demands for the revision of national priorities. The intensifying struggle of the peoples against the arms race inevitably stimulates scientific research of possibilities and ways of converting the economy to peaceful purposes.

Of major significance on this plane are the efforts of such international democratic organizations as the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Council and a number of others which are trying to initiate a broad international dialog on problems of conversion, to actively support scientific research in this field and set up the working cooperation of scientists, professional centers of various political orientations and public organizations of different countries.

A detailed discussion of this problem took place at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow in 1973. It was continued at the International Symposium of the World Federation of Scientific Workers in Moscow in July 1975, which dealt with the role of scientists and organizations in the struggle for disarmament and then in 1976 in Helsinki at the World Conference "For Cessation of the Arms Race, Disarmament and Detente." Formed after the Moscow Congress, the International Forum on Relations of Peace-Loving Forces, in which representatives of different political parties and mass organizations actively cooperate, held in London in December 1978 an international seminar "Alternatives to the Production of Armaments" with the cooperation of the British Congress of Trade Unions. In February 1979, the International Institute of Peace in Vienna jointly with the World Federation of Scientific Workers organized a scientific symposium on problems of conversion. There could be named a number of other international meetings which made a significant contribution to the further working out of this urgent problem. At the present time, preparations are being carried out on a broad scale for the World Trade-Union Conference on Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament which is expected to be convened in 1981. This question has been included on the agenda of the forum of the European community for disarmament and security, which is to be convened in October 1979 in Brussels on the initiative of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

Recently a discussion on problems of conversion on the national level has been activated significantly. It is characteristic that growing activity on this plane is being shown not only by antimilitary organizations but also by many trade unions in the United States, England, France, Belgium and a number of other countries. Some trade unions have already carried out most thorough researches on the microeconomic level, that is, within the framework of individual sectors or whole economic regions.

In England on the initiative of the Committee of Shop Elders, including representatives of the largest companies of the aviation, space-aviation and ship-building industry (Lucas Aerospace, Rolls-Royce, Vickers, British Aircraft Corporation and others), a concrete plan was developed for the production of alternative products in case of repudiation of fulfillment of military orders. The United Trade Union of Transport and Unskilled Workers, which is one of the largest trade unions in England with about two million members, at

its conference in 1977 also came out with an alternative plan in connection with the proposed annulment of military orders by the shah's government in Iran.⁴ Member of the British Congress of Trade Union and general secretary of the trade union of technical and administrative workers of the Amalgamated Union of Machine Builders Ken Gill in an article "An Alternative to the Production of Armaments is Possible and Necessary," published in the World Peace Council's journal NEW PERSPECTIVES, No 2, 1979, cites the example of the development of a concrete plan of the painless conversion of military enterprises to peaceful production on the scale of an entire economic district of the city of Preston (Great Britain), which is dominated by two of the largest enterprises of the aviation industry.⁵

In the United States, despite the official position of the Executive Council of AFL-CIO headed by George Meany, the department of industrial trade unions of AFL-CIO, representing organized workers in all the chief sectors of industry and at least 14 large trade unions, united more than four million members, came out in favor of reducing military expenditures and transfer of the freed funds to the financing of social programs. In San Francisco there was formed a trade-union coalition "For Rectification of the Transfer of Funds for Economic Change," which in November 1978 proposed a detailed program requiring reduction of military expenditures and transfer of the funds for regulation of the crisis of American cities. Many city councils and the Conference of Mayors of the United States have come out with similar provisions.

In 1975 in Chicago there was presented a "peace budget" at a national conference "For the Reduction of Military Expenditures," convoked by a number of American antimilitary organizations; it provided in particular for the reduction of armed forces and military expenditures of the United States respectively by one million persons and 58 billion dollars. At the same time, there was planned an increase in budgetary allocations for various civil programs. The authors of this budget showed that as the result of such a sharp reduction of military allocations and simultaneous significant increase of federal expenditures for peaceful purposes overall employment in the United States would not only not be reduced but, on the contrary, increased by 4.8 million.

In Belgium in April 1979 on the initiative of a whole series of public organizations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of NATO, mass antimilitary demonstrations demanded that the government convene a national conference on converting military industry to peaceful purposes.

In recent years, there have appeared in various countries a number of special scientific works in which objective researchers, realizing the vital importance of disarmament, convincingly reject the assertions of apologists of the arms race and show economic and political ways with whose help it would be possible to achieve the rational utilization of the gigantic industrial, scientific and manpower potential now being expended on the production of means of disarmament [sic]. Among such works the publication may be mentioned as early as in 1963 of the researches of a group of prominent American economists under the supervision of E. Benoit, K. Bowlding and V. Leontiev under the title of "Disarmament and Economics," the works of M. Weidenbaum "The Military Market in the United States" (1963) and "Defense Economics in Peace

Time" (1974), and books by S. Melman, B. Odis, J. Ulman and a number of other American scholars.⁷

Of the most recent researches there may be mentioned the book "A Sound Approach to Problems of Defense," published in 1977 in England, which cites the results of a three-year study carried out by a group of scientists on instructions of the Labor Party and also "The Pentagon as a Job Creator," also published in 1977, but in the United States, which presents objective data showing that military allocations not only do not eliminate unemployment but, on the contrary, intensify it.

Scientists of the socialist countries give even greater consideration to problems of conversion. In the Soviet Union in particular, the Commission for Scientific Problems of Disarmament of the Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace came out in 1978 with a collective monograph "Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament." This work will be continued within the framework of the recently created Scientific Council on Research of Problems of Peace and Disarmament attached to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Much work is being done in this direction at a number of scientific-research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

While world scientific literature at the present time still does not have works providing a comprehensive analysis of the whole problem of conversion of military production and its consequences on the scale of the economy of some one country or of the entire world economy, researches have already been conducted and detailed discussions held recently in scientific and public circles which permit the making of a number of extremely important conclusions and determining the main directions of further research.

Analysis of different aspects of the problem of conversion of armament production both in scientific literature and in past public forms completely refute attempts by opponents of disarmament to deliberately exaggerate the technical difficulties of its solution. It is true, objective scientists, political and public figures say, this problem is difficult, but all the technical aspects of conversion are no more difficult than any other problems of reorganization of technology and economic priorities that have been successfully solved in the past and are being solved in the present by contemporary science and production. It is not difficulties of conversion that stand in the way of disarmament but rather the resistance of the military-industrial complex and the lack of the necessary political will by governments that carry the responsibility for the continuing arms race.

At the same time, it is important to emphasize that many studies, even those which objectively examine the problem of conversion, frequently lose sight of the most important and fundamental idea, which is that no difficulties and problems arising in connection with conversion and none of its real or imagined social-economic expenditures can in no way be compared in terms of scale to that tremendous damage resulting from the continuing arms race and that mortal threat which it creates to the very existence of mankind. Thus, objectively conversion of the military machine to civil purposes as a

consequence of the practical implementation of measures of real disarmament is a vital imperative for which no reasonable alternative exists in our thermonuclear age.

There should be added to this that the potential benefits for all mankind, for each people and each individual person on earth that should accrue from being rid of such an onerous burden as the arms race would easily cover any possible expenditures, temporary difficulties and efforts of states and peoples aimed at the solution of this vitally important problem.

It is natural for problems of conversion of military production to be differently considered in socialist and capitalist countries. In a socialist society, there are no classes or social groups that would pursue narrow mercenary minded aims, achieve social privileges at the expense of others strive for annexation, aggression against other peoples and consider war as a source of their benefit. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L.I. Brezhnev spoke most meaningfully of this in his appearance on television at the time of his visit to the FRG in May 1978. "With us in the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev noted, "there are no classes, no social strata, no professional groups that would be interested in war or in its preparation or who would count on profiting from it. We have, of course, munitions plants, we have an army, but neither the directors of these plants, nor the command staff of the army, nor workers, nor soldiers relate their well-being to war, to military orders. We would like very much--to the tremendous benefit of all society--to transfer munitions plants to the output of peaceful products, to peaceful constructive aims."

The USSR has considerable experience in the reorganization of the whole system of war economy in the first postwar five-year plans. At the same time, under the conditions of a planned socialist economy, the question did not exist of finding some special ways of solving the problem of reorganization of the war industry to the production of machinery, equipment, raw materials. There did not arise problems that are so acute for the Western postwar world as the unemployment of those demobilized from the army or inflation.

The gigantic destruction of industry and the housing fund, the difficulties of restoring transport and supply--all this created a perfectly different spectrum of problems requiring urgent solution in the course of conversion of military expenditures, industry, military research and development and the war machine in the transition of the country to the solution of grandiose peaceful problems from that which could arise in the course of disarmament in Western countries.

The experience of postwar conversion bears out that planning of the development of the national economy and all economic life permits socialist countries painlessly to carry out all types of conversion in the case of implementation of the most radical measures in the field of reduction of armaments and armed forces up to universal and total disarmament.

Clearly, the conversion of the war machine in capitalist countries with a chaotic "market economy" would be significantly more difficult. But past experience attests that conversions and reconversions of military production have already been carried out repeatedly in many countries both after World War I and especially after World War II. Under present-day conditions when militarization of the economy in peacetime has reached in a number of countries an unprecedented level, while the creation of nuclear-missile and even many ordinary types of weapons is becoming an increasingly specialized sphere of production whose conversion would be fraught with more difficulties than has been the case in the past.

But existing experiences and conducted studies irrefutably prove that the leading capitalist states have sufficient resources for the solution of this problem. The existence of a mechanism of state-monopolist regulation of the economy, capable of being used as direct administrative and legislative measures and indirect financial and other factors under conditions of specific planning and in the organization and gradual realization of disarmament, permit each state to carry out such national measures whose help would make it possible to successfully overcome arising temporary difficulties and in the end obtain a big political effect.⁹

Incidentally, even the difficulties of carrying out the conversion, as studies show, will not be identical in different countries. They depend primarily on the degree of militarization of the economy of each country, the scale of its involvement in the arms race and other factors. Success in the solution of the main problems of conversion depend to a significant degree on how effectively actions of a political, economic and legislative character will be able to be used by each government and how decisively it will be able to withstand the pressure of militarist circles. In this connection, the demand is increasingly made on governments for the immediate development of "economic programs of disarmament" in the movement of partisans of peace and other public movements. The same sort of an appeal is made by the public to scientists, scientific centers and academic institutes.

A most acute political and ideological struggle is developing around problems of the possible effect of cessation of the arms race and conversion on the market of the work force in capitalist countries. The polemical heat around this problem is directly connected to the threatening growth of mass unemployment in capitalist countries.

But those who are trying to convince the public of the "necessity" of high military expenditures for maintenance of employment in a country deliberately ignore two decisive conditions. First, military expenditures, as confirmed by numerous studies of scientists and actual practice, are the least effective means of ensuring employment. This is attested, for example, by such a generally known fact that during the growth of U.S. military expenditures during 1973-1976 from 78 to 91 billion dollars unemployment in this country did not decrease but, on the contrary, grew from 4.9 percent to 7.7 percent of the able-bodied population.¹⁰ In the above-mentioned survey "The Pentagon as a Job Creator," which was published in October 1977 by the Center for

Defense Information in the United States, presents such data: each billion dollars spent for military purposes provided 45,800 jobs (almost half of which were servicemen, about 20 percent civilian personnel in the Department of Defense and the rest persons employed in the armament industry); the same billion dollars invested in civilian sectors of industry would have provided a minimum of 53,000 jobs and 98,000 jobs in the sphere of public service.¹¹ Thus productivity of one dollar from the point of view of employment is 1.5-2.0 times higher in the civilian sector than in the military.

Second, in practice, any program of disarmament has to be carried out in any case gradually, on the basis of a prior worked-out plan. This eliminates "instant" growth of unemployment and provides time and funds for the creation of additional jobs for persons who have been let go from the armed forces and the military industry and for the reorientation of production at individual enterprises and in entire sectors of industry.

After carefully examining all the aspects of this problem, the most prominent experts from different countries, who have prepared a renewed report of General Secretary of the UN, have also come to the firm and unanimous conclusion that "... the general result which should be expected from disarmament, if there is no recession and given the condition of the adoption of necessary compensatory measures, is stimulation of the economy and reduction of unemployment."¹²

In connection with the problem of unemployment, the question frequently arises of the fate of the tremendous army of scientific-technical workers, scientists, designers and highly qualified engineers and specialists that are employed today in the military sphere. Objective studies provide a clear and unambiguous reply to this question. It has been proved that no curtailment of the number of specialists will occur in reorientation not of individual scientists but of entire scientific collectives--laboratories and institutes with all their complex research equipment and accumulated experience, traditions and know-how of creative labor--who will go on to the solution of current scientific-technical problems connected with improvement of the quality of life. Moreover, the reorientation of scientific research for peaceful purposes in the opinion of many scientists is pressingly dictated by the objective laws of the present stage of the scientific-technical revolution.

"Even if one were not to speak of the direct danger of a nuclear catastrophe," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted in welcoming the participants of the World Forum of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow, "the arms race in itself is a senseless expenditure of material and spiritual wealth of mankind of which it has a need for fighting hunger, diseases, illiteracy and for solving social, energy, raw-material and ecological problems."¹³

All this brings on the thought that the study of problems of conversion of military production cannot be restricted to the construction of different models on the scale of an enterprise, sector or even a whole state. Although this is also very important and necessary, it must without fail take into consideration the truly limitless perspectives of development of international economic and scientific-technical cooperation that will be freed of the militarism and arms race that are blocking its way.

This circumstance in particular is pointed out by experts who prepared the report of the UN General Secretary entitled "Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and its Exceptionally Deleterious Influence on International Peace and Security" that was presented to the 32nd session of the UN General Assembly in 1977. The continuing arms race, it was pointed out in this document, is one of the important factors hindering the development of trade and distorting its structure. One of the most negative aspects of this arms race is the limitation of trade of so-called strategic items; these could be any sort of goods, beginning with raw materials and ending with modern equipment. "It would be difficult to imagine," assert the authors of the report, "that while the arms race continues it would be possible to establish a new international division of labor and a new international trade, currency and financial order under which all countries, without discrimination on the basis of military-strategic reasons, would have equal access to credit markets, sources of raw materials and other means of economic development and cooperation."¹⁴

From all this it does not at all follow that the realizability of disarmament and subsequent conversion should be related or made dependent on how to find for manufacturers of weapons and exporters of armaments a more profitable "substitute market" or a sphere for the sale of weapons and ammunition. Science puts this question much more deeply, not on the basis of the interests of a small group of merchants of death but rather on the basis of the vital interests of all of mankind and the prospects of its social progress.¹⁵

There is no doubt that the struggle for improved living conditions could be most effective if there is a free exchange of the results of technical progress between countries. This progress is being held back by mutual fears and suspicions connected with the arms race. Artificial restraint of mutually beneficial international trade and other forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation does significant harm to both socialist and capitalist countries.

Alternative potential possibilities of the use of resources released in the course of conversion of a military economy are incalculable. But there exists one very important direction that is recognized and emphasized by all scientists as paramount. This is aid for the purpose of development. The indissoluble interaction of disarmament and development is particularly noted in Document 10 of the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. A tremendous number of scientific works, articles and books deal with this.

Increasing the rate of economic development is one of the central problems facing developing countries. No one has any doubt that significant curtailment of military expenditures would make it possible to greatly increase economic aid being provided to developing countries. In this connection, world opinion provided the broadest support to the initiative of the Soviet Union, which as early as December 1973 offered a proposal at the 27th session of the UN General Assembly on a 10-percent reduction of the military budgets of states that are permanent members of the Security Council and on the use

of a part of the saved funds for aid to developing countries. This initiative was subsequently amended by a proposal of the Soviet delegation at the 10th special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in which states possessing large military potentials would agree on the reduction of the military budget of each of them not in percent but in absolute terms. The readiness of socialist countries to solve this important problem on a mutual basis in any version acceptable to our partners was again stated in the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of Member-States of the Warsaw Pact promulgated in November 1978 in Moscow. But the practical solution of the problem of reduction of military budgets and a significant increase of aid thereby to developing countries is being artificially impeded by representatives of the Western states and the People's Republic of China.

At the same time, in examining the problem of disarmament as a truly worldwide problem common to all mankind, it would be wrong to reduce the entire question to purely quantitative indicators of possible growth of economic aid. As one of the basic factors determining the international situation, the arms race exerts a deep influence on the political and economic life of many of the developing countries. In this connection, due to arising foreign and internal political factors, these countries in recent years have been becoming more deeply involved in the arms race. As shown by UN data, military expenditures of many developing countries in recent years have grown faster than the growth rate of the civil medium of production.

Here we approach a question which unfailingly arises in any objective analysis of problems of conversion, namely the sinister role of military-industrial complexes in the United States and other capitalist countries--the leading producers and suppliers of armaments. It is namely their determined desire to preserve the source of gigantic profits arising from state military orders and generous subsidies at the expense of millions of ordinary taxpayers that creates the chief obstacle to disarmament and conversion of military production.

"The military industry," Kenneth Bowlding, the well-known American economist, stated in one of his speeches, "is a cancer in the body of American society. It has its own mode of growth. It constitutes a system which is practically independent and in fact objectively inimical to the well-being of the American people, although it describes itself as its defender."¹⁶

The military-industrial complex is the nucleus of the aggressive nature of imperialism. In it, the pursuit of maximum profits and the threat to the very existence of mankind are directly connected.

Consequently the most important condition for the solution of problems of conversion, as actually the whole problem of disarmament, is bridling of the greedy aspirations of the military-industrial complex. And in this an important role is bound to be played by all peace-loving forces of the public. It is necessary to create through the constant demanding and coordinated efforts of political parties, trade unions and other mass public

organizations and movements a powerful pressure of public opinion in favor of cessation of the arms race and a decisive reorientation of all social-economic and budgetary policy of the states.

At the same time, it is important to constantly show through which channels the military-industrial complex influences policy, public opinion, psychology of people, the mass information media and the entire life of bourgeois society.

The system of state measures and institutes, which today directs the growth of military production, can and must be likewise converted to a system that mobilizes the economic and scientific potential of society for the solution of the pressing problems of all mankind. This thesis is emphasized in the already mentioned collective work of Soviet scientists entitled "Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament" in the following manner: "A difficult but achievable aim stands today before the peace-loving forces--to convert the military-industrial complex into a scientific-industrial one oriented toward the solution of urgent economic and social problems of mankind."¹⁷

Mankind, as K. Marx wrote, always sets itself those tasks which it is capable of solving. The shifting of gigantic resources now being spent on the arms race to peaceful creative purposes is one such task. It is solvable at the present stage of development of civilization under conditions of undeviating progress of the great cause of peace for which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the active support of all peace loving forces of contemporaneity are tirelessly waging with such determination, energy and initiative.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress]. Moscow, 1976, p 22.
2. PRAVDA, 22 Jun 1979.
3. The term "reconversion" is occasionally encountered in the scientific literature. The term "conversion" has become generally accepted in reference to the reorganization of military sectors of production for the output of peacetime products, while "reconversion" tends to refer to the reversion of these sectors to peacetime production after a period of war.
4. Shaffer, G., "Arms Cuts Mean More Jobs." London, 1979, p 45.
5. NEW PERSPECTIVES (journal of the World Peace Council), No 2, 1979, p 7. See also PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 5, 1979, p 83.
6. NEW PERSPECTIVES, No 6, 1975, p 12.
7. See V.I. Vaneyev's article in the collection "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy razoruzheniya" [Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament]. (A publication of the Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace). Moscow, 1978, pp 12-51.

8. PRAVDA, 7 May 1978.
9. See for greater detail Faramazyan, R.A. and Konobeyev, V.P., "Economic Aspects of Disarmament."--In the collection: "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy razoruzheniya" [Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament]. Moscow, 1979, pp 71-145.
10. "Statistical Abstract of the US," 1977, p 395.
11. "The Pentagon as a Job Creator," THE DEFENSE MONITOR, Vol VI, No 7, September-October, 1977, p 23. Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C., USA.
12. "Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and Military Expenditures." (A publication of the United Nations Organization), No 7, 1978, p 68.
13. PRAVDA, 15 Jan 1977.
14. United Nations Organization, General Assembly. Thirty-second session, item 33 of the preliminary agenda. Report of the General Secretary, p 80.
15. See for greater detail Pletnev, E.P., "International Economic Relations Through the Prism of Disarmament," the collection "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy razoruzheniya" [Social-Economic Problems of Disarmament.] Moscow, pp 182-207.
16. "American Militarism 1970. A Dialogue on Distortion of our National Priorities." New York, 1970, p 94.
17. "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy razoruzheniya," op cit, p 165.

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INTERNATIONAL

ITALIAN CP ATTACKED FOR 'FAULT-FINDING' ATTITUDE

Moscow RABOCHYIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 5, 1979 pp 32-41

[Article by G.P. Smirnov: "The Italian Communist Party Enters a New Phase of Struggle"]

[text] The first half of 1979, more precisely the shorter time interval from the time of the withdrawal of the ICP [Italian Communist Party] from the parliamentary majority (end of January) to the holding in the beginning of June in Italy of triple elections (parliamentary, European and on the island of Sardinia), was extremely important for this party. "With the elections of 3 June 1979," General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party E. Berlinguer noted, "a definite political phase ended for us," which had begun in 1976.

From a political point of view, the three-year period of 1976-1979 was characterized by a certain regrouping of the country's chief political forces. As a result of the very big success of the Italian communists in the pre-scheduled parliamentary elections of 20 June 1976, at which the ICP received more than 12 million votes (43.4 percent), it significantly increased its representation in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Italian parliament. Seven important parliamentary commissions were headed for the first time by representatives of the Communist Party, while P. Ingrao, a member of the ICP Leadership, was chosen chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. Communist-Party organizations achieved major successes locally. In Rome, Milan, Naples, Venice, Turin and many other cities of the country there were created leftist giuntas (organs of local self-government) composed of communists and socialists, and the influence of the ICP significantly increased in provincial and regional organs of local self-government. According to the estimates of the Italian weekly PANORAMA, leftist forces on the whole controlled locally about 60 percent of the Italian population. As a result of these changes, a situation was created in the country where it became practically impossible to ignore the Communist Party or to keep it from participation in the operation of state affairs. Taking into account the changes in the distribution of forces in the domestic political arena of the country, the communists demanded the formation in Italy of a government of democratic unity with the participation of the Communist Party for the purpose of solving urgent problems facing Italy.

With the determined resistance of the Christian Democratic Party to such a change in the political leadership of the country, the communists in 1977 at first went ahead with the conclusion of a program agreement involving six and subsequently five chief political parties of the country on questions of implementation of the most urgent measures in the field of economics, including reorganization of industry and industrial development of the southern regions of the country, making jobs available to young people and also on questions connected with a settlement of the difficult situation in Italian universities and overcoming of a crisis in the whole system of education. Measures were coordinated for increasing protection of public order and the organization of a rebuff to the subversive activity of extremists and for dealing with crime and the solution of a number of acute social problems. These agreements were not an official program of the government, which was formed of the representatives of only the Christian Democratic Party, but they imposed on the government certain obligations on observance of agreements reached by the parties and deputies comprising the parliamentary majority.

From the social-economic point of view this period occurred in conditions of a painful and protracted "structural crisis," encompassing all spheres of Italian society--social-economic, political and ideological. "In the fall of 1976," E. Berlinguer noted, "the economic and financial position of Italy sharply deteriorated, threatened with a collapse, the symptoms of which were to be seen in the vertical fall of the value of the lira, threatening a severe blow to purchasing power, the level of employment and other gains of workers and casting a doubt on the very fate of democracy."²

Under these conditions, the Italian Communist Party, basing itself on the program agreements, called for programmed development of the economy, for improvement in the operation of financial and state institutions, for reduction of nonproduction expenditures and for strengthening of public order. A contribution of the leftist parties, especially the ICP, was halting the growth of inflation and opposing attempts to pass on to the working class the consequences of the economic difficulties.

The participation of the communists in the parliamentary majority exerted a considerable influence on the one-party government, which was again headed by G. Andreotti. Its program statement included such important commitments as contribution to the economic development of the country's South, improvement of the state financial system, reorganization of the structure of production activity and greater employment of workers, especially the youth.

This was a major success for the Italian Communist Party, which was close to solving the problem of the communists entering the government. But it soon became clear that this also was the last advance to the approaches to political power which the Italian bourgeoisie would agree to permit communists. "In recent years," E. Berlinguer pointed out at the 15th ICP Congress, progress has been made in the relations of the ICP with other partners; this has resulted in the achievement of certain positive results, but at the decisive stage this progress was halted."³

Actually, beginning in 1978, in addition to outright attempts to break down the normal functioning of the mechanism of the parliamentary majority, which included the ICP, through the creation of tension in the country (the kidnapping and murder of A. Moro, a wild outburst of terrorism), there was to be observed in Italy ever-increasing activity in the mobilization of forces in the camp of the opponents of communists. In 1978 there took place a very marked rightward shift in the Christian Democratic Party which had as its concrete expression the selection of F. Piccoli, one of the leaders of the rightist Christian Democrats, as chairman of the party's National Council and of a staunch anticommunist, C. Donat Cattin as deputy political secretary. In the party, the influence of the moderate-conservative trend of so-called "dorotites", who increased pressure on the ruling group of forces within the party in favor of carrying out the constructive "line of Moro-Zaccagnini" involving cooperation with communists within a certain framework, succeeded in achieving the resignation of Andreotti's cabinet and worked for new pre-scheduled elections calculated at creating an "internal crisis" in the ICP.

The plans of the reactionary forces were made easier to a significant degree by the fact that the relations of the socialists with the ICP had been sharply exacerbated since the summer of 1978. The Italian Socialist Party opened fire both on the strategic and on the ideological positions of the ICP. Communists were accused of an insufficiently critical approach to the assessment of the experience of real socialism and of excessive attachment to Leninist principles of party organization, particularly democratic centralism and of being inconsistent in questions of "Europeism" and the like.

The development of the domestic political situation in the country was increasingly characterized by acute aggravation of social-economic and political tension, unceasing attempts of conservative circles, especially the right wing of the Christian Democrats, of hindering cooperation among the democratic forces of the country. It became increasingly clear that to count on a change of the class line of the Italian bourgeoisie, especially its chief political force, the Christian Democratic Party, meant holding on to an unjustified illusion.

Criticizing the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of government measures, the communists demanded the verification of the feasibility and effectiveness of the production programs of the large monopolist associations, the elimination of structural and regional disproportions, bolstering the role of the public sector on a democratic basis, improvement in the operation of lagging sectors of industry for the purpose of expanding production and creating new jobs, the introduction of democratic programming on the basis of direct participation of workers in control of production.

In December 1978, the Christian Democratic Party embarked on the path of outright violation of the program agreement. Despite the fact that the socialists abstained and the communists voted against, a bill went through parliament on the entry of Italy into the European monetary system. In this way this decision and a number of others were adopted despite the positions of

the ICP and other parties comprising the parliamentary majority. The very basis of its existence was undermined thereby. Toward the end of January 1979 the Italian Communist Party announced its withdrawal from the parliamentary majority, which became the beginning of a protracted governmental crisis and the precursor of the June prescheduled parliamentary elections.

In analyzing the causes of this crisis, Comrade L. Longo, chairman of the ICP, pointed out at the 15th congress of the Italian Communist Party that "the responsibility for the failure of the agreement, which could have led to perfectly different, positive results, lies with the Christian Democratic Party, which seeks to have the policy of national solidarity serve as a means for the restoration of the system of government which had cracked as the result of the voting of 20 June 1976."⁴

Under these difficult conditions, a process ensued of verification by Italian communists of the correctness of their international and domestic political aims, the effectiveness of their unions and the soundness of their relations with different strata of Italian society. It should be noted that this process of thinking out the strategic and tactical line went through two stages. The first (15th congress of the Italian Communist Party) took place prior to the parliamentary elections in June, the second (the July Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the ICP)--after the elections. Both of these stages are closely interconnected and are characterized by big continuity. At the same time certain differences are to be found in them. The 15th ICP Congress immediately opened the preelections campaign of the Italian communists and therefore had for its aim mobilization of the party on the eve of the national poll. In this connection a number of positions stated at the congress took this factor into consideration. "Preelection campaigns, naturally, must be conducted on the basis of a clear-cut program," E. Berlinguer pointed out in the concluding remarks at the 15th ICP Congress, "and we have one: they must be conducted in such a way as to gain rather than lose votes. Consequently, it is necessary to avoid positions and lines of behavior, which are to the liking of our most faithful activists, but are incapable of drawing votes and opinion our way, being, on the contrary, fraught with the opposite effect."⁵

And it is understandable that many things, which for various reasons failed to find sufficient reflect at the congress, were enunciated more clearly at the July Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the ICP. To some degree this was due to the lack of success of the ICP at the elections. Let us remember that in June 1979 the ICP accumulated 9,858,437 votes (versus 10,684,779 in 1976) in the elections to the Senate, or 31.46 percent (versus 38.8 percent) and 11,107,819 votes (versus 12,620,569), or 30.44 percent (versus 34.44 percent) at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. In the general European elections that same month, the ICP accumulated 10,343,101 votes (29.6 percent) and in the regional elections lost 3.85 percent of the votes compared with the parliamentary elections in 1976.

On the other hand, this was explained by the transition of the party to the opposition and the corresponding need to take a new look at a whole series of problems of its strategic and tactical lines. Let us dwell on the chief of these problems.

Among the international problems, one of the most significant for the ICP is the problem of the existence in the world of conditions greatly favoring the possibility of attaining broad democratic and socialist changes in Italy. Italian communists understand that the growth of tension in the world, the policy of military confrontation and the deterioration of the economic situation in the Western countries serve as an incentive to the ruling classes to adoption of anti-worker, reactionary measures and contribute to intensification of imperialist arbitrariness and the export of counterrevolution.

All the internal and international public and political forces were moved against the communists; these were the forces whose concrete interests and political positions were impinged upon and placed under doubt by development of a process which would permit the ICP to cross the threshold leading to the government.

Analyzing the situation existing in Italy after the success of the communists in the 1976 elections, E. Berlinguer noted: "Just a little information is enough for everyone to understand the breadth of anticommunist mobilization. From without--the pressure of the government of the United States of America (the culmination of which was the State Department's statement of 12 January 1978). From within--constant sabotage and delays on the part of the Christian Democratic Party in implementation of the most innovative aspects of the program agreements; the renewal of its ideological attacks with the obvious purpose of achieving the break-up of our party..."⁶

At the same time, the ICP is far from defending any kind of narrow nationalist interests. The struggle for peace, detente and disarmament--this is in the understanding of Italian communists help and support given by all peoples who are for social progress and national rebirth. "The governments of certain large Western states, such as the United States," E. Berlinguer pointed out at the July Plenum, "openly speaks of the possibility of blackmail and military interference in the affairs of countries that produce petroleum and are already engaged in the preparation of forces and special combat corps intended for this purpose."⁷ Hence the common task of all democratic forces of the world--to hinder the execution of "possible reactionary and military adventures."

A significantly deeper discussion was given by the Italian communists in this connection to the question of the relation to propaganda being conducted in the West that was of a clearly expressed anticommunist,

antisocialist and antidemocratic character. Together with confirmation of the task of counteracting this propaganda, the need was emphasized of unmasking its inimical narrow mercenary-minded character and of explaining, especially to the youth, its real class nature.

"A counterattack against us," E. Berlinguer pointed out, "could not catch by surprise that part of the party that is very experienced or which, despite its youngness in years, has come to be aware that revolutionary policy, comparable to ours, cannot develop without hurt, that it involves blocks and that any of our forward movement... of necessity provokes resistance and counteroffensives, which must be repulsed... One of our defects has been perhaps that we did not succeed in explaining to the whole party and the broad masses marching with them the nature of the collision that took place after the elections of 20 June."⁸

Such an understanding of the class nature of the anticommunist, antisocialist and antidemocratic campaign launched by reactionary forces in the West permitted the ICP to approach in a new way the question of anti-Soviet propaganda employed by imperialism as one of the basic weapons and being conducted today on an international scale in an ideological struggle. We know that one of the principles of party independence is considered by the ICP to be freedom of a critical attitude toward these or those negative aspects in the work of fraternal parties, including those in power in the socialist countries. This principle, which by itself is not conducive to doubt in the observance of certain norms of relations between parties, may lead, however, to rather serious mistakes. In embarking on the path of criticism in regard to the socialist countries, communists are risking finding themselves involved in the common channel of anti-Soviet campaigns. In discussing the question of human rights, E. Berlinguer emphasized at the 15th ICP Congress that if this question "is used as propaganda directed solely at the Soviet Union, it then is in contradiction to the policy of detente. And this contri- butes in no way to the development of democracy, which is closely connected with the development of detente, neither in the socialist countries nor in all the others."⁹

A major place in the discussions of the Italian communists held before and after the elections was also occupied by the question of the so-called "European" policy of the ICP. Italian communists have long considered that the process of European integration is acquiring an increasingly objective character in the same way that the constantly growing economic interdependence of different countries and regions of the world possesses an independent character. Emphasizing therefore the decisive importance of the struggle for democracy and socialism within individual countries of Western Europe, they are at the same time convinced that the sphere of class battles should be extended to general European utterances against conservative forces, the united efforts of which could compromise or even reduce to zero the successes of democratic forces on a national scale.

It is important to point out that at the present time the understanding has been even further strengthened among Italian communists that the "process of integration and unification of the EEC [European Economic Community] has developed and today runs the risk of developing even further under the aegis of the interests of large financial associations, stronger states and conservative political groups."¹⁰ This understanding has found its reflection in the tasks formulated at the July Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of the ICP in regard to Western Europe, where the accent has been placed on problems of massive attacks of workers against a Europe of monopolies and military concerns. "We must, E. Berlinguer noted, "make all the efforts necessary to achieve effectiveness and, consequently, maximum unity in the struggle of all workers and popular masses of Western Europe for the purpose of defending their gains and rights against attempts to shift to their shoulders the burden of crisis and economic policy of separate governments and the EEC. From this point of view, we attach special significance to any progress in the coordination of the trade-union struggle and other initiatives of the democratic movements and organizations of young people, women, cooperatives and peasants on a European scale and also initiatives in the field of culture, science and information."¹¹

But the question of Europe is also of important significance in connection with such urgent tasks of mankind as cessation of the arms race, reduction of armaments and armed forces. This is why the proposal of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev on speeding up an agreement on SALT 2 was decisively supported at the 15th ICP Congress and at the July Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of the ICP among the chief tasks which Italian communists are putting within the framework of Western Europe they include mass initiative in the struggle for peace and disarmament and also prospects for the achievement of a new agreement on SALT-3.

Among the domestic political questions, the main one for Italian communists has been the policy of democratic solidarity and unity of all democratic forces of the country in the struggle for socialist transformations in Italy. This question was of special significance for the ICP in connection with the fact that the implementation of this policy has recently run into certain difficulties. Not casting any doubt on the essence of this policy, Italian communists are thinking much more pointedly than before of the question and what to do to have this policy effect significant changes in the political life of the country which are required for its renewal.

Thus, at the 15th ICP Congress, Comrade A. Cossutta, a member of the ICP Leadership, noted that the "Christian Democratic Party has come out and continues to come out against these changes. It is mainly for this reason it does not want to govern the country together with communists. In order to have the Christian Democratic Party stop creating obstacles in the way of renewal and therefore to have it stop creating barriers for communists,

it will be necessary to force it to disclose the true reasons for its resistance, and these reasons are of a class character, stemming from the defense of very definite interests and an adequately well known system of power."¹²

Forgetfulness of the class character of this resistance and hope for its spontaneous change may lead the party, as shown by an analysis made by Italian communists at the July Plenum, to serious miscalculations and failures. Thus, during the three years of experience of cooperation of the ICP with other parties, a serious defect was found to be, as E. Berlinguer pointed out, the fact that the "party, both centrally and locally, frequently blunted polemics and criticism of the Christian Democratic Party, softening the militancy of its comments against it and was not sufficiently forceful and timely in exposing and fighting against the stubbornness, resistance and incorrectness of the different parties, especially the Christian Democratic Party and its ministers."¹³

An attempt by the ICP to initiate cooperation with the Christian Democrats showed that "...political cooperation would be impossible," E. Berlinguer emphasized, "with the Christian Democratic Party in the form in which it appears today and that the path which the ICP attempted to follow in the last three years can no longer be followed."¹⁴

At the same time, considering the fact that the segment of workers is relatively large in the Christian-Democratic Party and that this party exerts considerable influence on the masses of Catholic workers, the ICP sets itself the task of not only changing the system of its power, putting an end to its domination in the country's political life and providing such initiatives as would be capable of drawing to positions of unity workers and popular masses, democratic and progressive elements that are still attracted to the Christian Democratic Party.

In connection with such a principled formulation of the problem of relations with the Christian Democratic Party, the question was acutely raised in the party of the so-called "historical compromise," of its interpretation and applicability under new conditions. "Many argue in the party and among the public," Comrade P. Cipriano, a member of the ICP Central Committee, noted, for example, at the July Plenum, "in regard to the historical compromise. These arguments must be examined in essence, although the actual formulation has its value. This formulation made possible and easier distortion and an incorrect interpretation of our strategy, which has become deeply rooted even in the consciousness of the broad masses. If any formulation leads to such confusion, it would then be no tragedy to abandon it."¹⁵

Responding to this criticism, E. Berlinguer admitted that the term "historical compromise" had an ambiguous character and in recent years has been subjected to a not disinterested interpretation on the part of class components of the ICP, who ascribed it to that desire of Italian communists for partnership with the Christian Democratic Party or to a concrete formula of the government, and so forth. Developing the thesis enunciated at

the 15th ICP Congress, E. Berlinguer again emphasized that for the communists "this formulation never had anything in common with such fabrications" and that its chief content lies in searches for "agreement and unity of the great ideological-political components of the country--communists, socialists and Catholics in the struggle for democratic changes leading to socialist solutions within the framework and in conformity to the republic constitution."¹⁶

Affirming the correctness of their strategic line, Italian communists are also seriously thinking of the reasons for deficiencies in their work among the youth and the middle strata of the population, in large cities and to some extent among the working class. These defects were revealed with special clarity in the course of the July elections. Reduced influence among the youth was noted. This is borne out by the difference in the results of voting for the ICP in the Senate, where the age level is higher, and in the Chamber of Deputies. Small losses are to be found in the people's blocks of city centers, especially where masses of the poor and of immigrants are concentrated. This tendency of reduction of the number of votes cast for the ICP has appeared almost everywhere. Losses of the ICP are somewhat smaller among the middle strata of the population: merchants, employees, small and medium-scale entrepreneurs. "It is more difficult to determine," the observation was made at the July Plenum, "sizes of the losses of the ICP among the working class. Analysis of the results of the elections in 36 typical worker communes selected in different regions shows that the reduction in the number of votes cast for communists amounts on the average to 2.5 percent."¹⁷

What is the reason for such weakening of the influence of the party among the masses, especially if it be considered that, for example, the advances of communists in the big cities were particularly impressive in 1976?

Italian communists see as the answer to this question the disparity between the correct strategic line of the ICP and the concrete content of many, chiefly social-economic measures implemented by the Christian Democratic government with the approval of the communists. They include a number of reforms united under the general title of a "policy of strict economy." Italian communists have tried to convert this policy into a tool of social justice and limitation of unrestrained growth of the wealth and profits of the exploiting classes. At the same time, however, it was found necessary to be reconciled to the fact that this same policy to a certain degree was against the interests of the poor and the middle strata of the population. This is what happened, for example, in the case of the law on equal rent costs for equal housing space. Introduced for the purpose of limiting the parasitic earnings of homeowners, this law also hit numerous residents of so-called "people's homes," whose rent was at a rather low level. A similar situation arose in the course of fighting those people who consistently avoided paying states taxes. Together with all manner of black-market operators, there also suffered the mass of small merchants and small and medium-size entrepreneurs. The mass of young people who were seeking to

find a use for their abilities were met with great disappointment. Measures of the government for the creation of new jobs turned out to be a bluff. In a revision of the system of pension provision, serious mistakes were made in connection with health-care services, affecting the position of the laboring masses. All these defects were given at the July Plenum a brief but meaningful assessment: right intention, wrong content.

In this connection it was noted that while participating in the parliamentary majority, the party failed to express sufficiently to the masses that it was not responsible for the actions of the government, which was entirely in the hands of the Christian Democratic Party, which tolerated the existence of the old bureaucratic state system, one that frequently either emasculated or reduced to naught measures that had been well conceived.

At the same time, serious criticism was directed at the party itself, its organizations, their ability to maintain ties with the masses, to understand their vital interests and hopes, which were somewhat diminished. Involvement in parliamentary activity, work in public organizations and organs of local self-government at times resulted in neglect of mass work, in the appearance of elements of the negative side of bureaucracy and weakening of ties with the popular masses.

When summarizing the results of the work of the Italian Communist Party during the three-year period of 1976-1979, a legitimate question arises: how is the work of the Italian communists during this period to be evaluated? Were these years that threw back the communists to their initial positions, deprived of their former influence and power? The answer to this question may be found first of all in objective data. Turning to figures, it is easy to be convinced that there were no victors in the course of the June elections. Despite their widely advertised intentions, neither the Christian Democratic Party nor the Italian Socialist Party managed to move ahead. The shift was in favor of small centrist parties. "The situation in Italy," E. Berlinguer mentioned in this connection, "has a more politically advanced character than the situation in other countries of Western Europe thanks to the fact that the role and weight of leftist forces are characterized by the presence of the Communist Party, which, despite an appreciable step backward, represents 30 percent of the voters and continues to be the largest communist party in the West."¹⁸

It would be a mistake to think that the elections in June 1979 did not bring significant changes to Italy. Nevertheless a certain shift to the right did take place. It is expressed in the retention of the positions of the neo-fascists, increasingly becoming the center of gravity of extreme rightist forces and provocative antidemocratic groups and in the increase of votes cast for the Liberal Party and in a more conservative stance by the Social Democrats and Republicans.

But the chief fact of this conservative shift remains as before antidemocratic, conservative regression of the Christian Democratic Party within

which even before the elections, during them and especially after the elections the forces that were most anticommunist assumed the offensive.

This is why Italian communists, being in the opposition, have set themselves the task of not weakening efforts spent on the expansion of alliances of the working class, on the creation of a broad social-political front of forces. "As for the Christian Democratic Party," E. Berlinguer emphasized, "the lesson learned should force us to confirm that democratic unity cannot be subjected to the dilemma as to whether or not cooperation is possible with this party."¹⁹

The large amount of self-critical work initiated recently in all party organizations of the ICP, because of the need for expanding ties with the masses by the party, searches for ways and methods of keeping better account of their demands and aspirations, and bringing forth new initiatives capable of strengthening the national role of the party of the working class.

Ahead are new and important positions in the struggle: the conclusion of new collective agreements for various categories of workers, completion of the working out of reforms (pact on agrarian agreements, reform of the policy, educational system and others), rectification of errors in the field of social measures and the struggle against terrorism. Regional and municipal elections are to be held in the spring of 1980.

It is important to mention, however, that even now, under the conditions of a critical approach to the party's work, the desire of Italian workers is growing to provide all-out support to the ICP. Information is being received from various ICP party organizations to the effect that the number of people wishing to join the party since the June elections has grown sharply. The tempo and collection of funds for the communist press are constantly increasing.

The Italian Communist Party is entering a new phase of the struggle.

FOOTNOTES

1. Berlinguer, E. "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," *UNITA*, 4 Jul 1979.
2. *Ibidem*.
3. Berlinguer, E., "Concluding Remarks at the 15th ICP Congress," *UNITA*, 4 Apr 1979.
4. *UNITA*, 30 Mar 1979.

5. Berlinguer, E., "Concluding Remarks at the 15th ICP Congress," UNITA, 4 Apr 1979.
6. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
7. Ibidem.
8. Ibidem.
9. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the 15th ICP Congress," UNITA, 31 Mar 1979.
10. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee and Central Control Commission," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
11. Ibidem.
12. Cossutta, A., "Speech at the 15th ICP Congress," UNITA, 1 Apr 1979.
13. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
14. Ibidem.
15. Cipriano, P., "Speech at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
16. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
17. Ibidem.
18. Berlinguer, E., "Address at the July (1979) Plenum of the ICP Central Committee," UNITA, 4 Jul 1979.
19. Ibidem.

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NATIONAL

NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION FURTHERS SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 5, 1979, pp 13-21

[Article by R. Kh. Vil'danov: "The Soviet Constitution and the Further Development of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] For 2 years already the Soviet people, our state and society have been living according to the new constitution. The constitution was a direct realization put into force with the adoption of important legislative acts, which were mentioned in the constitution and realized in conformity with it (laws on citizenship, on the USSR Council of Ministers, on elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, on procedures for conclusion, fulfillment and denunciation of international agreements, on further improvement of pension provisions for kolkhoz farmers, on preferences for World War II veterans, etc.), holding of the first elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet on 4 Mar 79 within the framework of the 1977 constitution, and the work of the first session of the Supreme Council of the 10th convocation in April 1979.

All of these large-scale measures underscore the historical significance of the new constitution as a substantial contribution and a new era in the development of socialist democracy. They signify, together with the 1977 constitution, the beginning of a new stage in the development of political democracy as the genuine sovereignty of the people, the highest known achievement in mankind's history. At the same time this stage has been prepared by the building of a developed, mature socialist society in the USSR, by the successes of communist construction in our country, and by the heroic efforts of the working class and all laborers of the Soviet Union who were guided by the Communist Party.

Democracy, as the basis of the entire 1977 constitution, as its main feature, as the determining factor of everything new which the constitution brought with itself in the developing of the political system of socialism, is determined by the guiding position of the working class, the most consistent proponent of democracy in the history of mankind, the class which is democratic in its nature and in its origin.

The new constitution of the USSR concentratedly expresses the outcome of the 60-year experience of struggle and constructive activity of the heroic Soviet people, of its leading force--the working class headed by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party--an outcome which has reached fruition in real, mature socialism. The working class, all the workers of our country have all this time, as L. I. Brezhnev wrote metaphorically and brilliantly in his book "Virgin Soil," "continued the experience of revolution, multiplied its conquests under new historical conditions and created a living experience of victorious construction of developed socialism."¹

The Soviet working class together with other workers of the USSR is the authentic creator of all Soviet constitutions, including the 1977 constitution. To it belongs the leading role in the transformation of the social and political appearance of the country, in the radical change of the relationship of class forces, and the social structure of society, which also created the objective demand for and the possibility of acceptance of the new constitution.

The working class is the creator not simply of the basic material well-being of society. The Soviet working class consciously and singlemindedly in its labor and social and political activity brought about the social and economic changes which made necessary the acceptance of the 1977 constitution, bringing the content of the constitution into conformity with the actual structure of society and the state. A powerful modern industry, which is the basis of material production, and a highly mechanized agriculture were created by its efforts.

In expressing the radical interests and results of the revolutionary transforming, conscious activity of the working class, and together with it all other levels of workers, the new USSR constitution reflected the deep changes of the social character of labor. "Relationships of oppression which had governed for centuries were replaced by relations of comradely cooperation and mutual support, and strengthening of the economic might of the country became an immediate matter for all workers for the first time."²

An indicator of the conscious relationship to problems of a production nature, of economic and social development, is the growth of the largest organizations of the working class, the trade unions, to their contemporary level. In the recently adopted resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Karaganda Obkom in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 25th Session of the CPSU on Party Guidance of Trade Union Organizations and Increasing Their Role in Economic and Cultural Construction" the main tasks and directions of the activity of trade unions under modern conditions were defined, and the practical program of their activity in struggling to fulfill the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan were outlined.

¹Brezhnev, L. I. Lenin's Course, t.M., 1979, p 118.

²Kosygin, A.N. The Creative Force of Great Ideas. Report at the Inaugural Session devoted to the 61st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Pravda," 5, II. 1978.

Trade unions, in particular, devote a lot of attention to improving the organization of socialist competition, which is a powerful lever of economic and social progress, a school of political, labor and moral education in a collective. As A. I. Shibayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, noted in a speech at the 8th Plenum of the AUCCTU on 27 June 1979, more than 103 million workers now participate in this patriotic movement; as a result of fulfillment of counter plans and socialist commitments 11 billion rubles of commercial production were realized in 3 years in addition to the plan. Of 12 million persons who are learning communist labor in production at schools, more than 5 million have already fulfilled increased socialist commitments; the patriotic movement of tutors has become popular--there are more than 2 million of them in the country.³

A creative relationship to labor, conscious and efficient labor, is not only the source for accelerating economic and social progress. It is a genuinely democratic and socially justified fact that in socialist society it is socially valuable labor and its results which determine a person's position. And the 1977 constitution states this position directly in Article 14.

Acceptance of the new Soviet constitution and all its contents reflects the deep social changes relating directly to the working class of the country. The working class is not only the leading force of communist construction, but also the largest class of society, comprising 75 million persons or two thirds of the working population of the country.

The image of the working class has also changed in a radical way. Today the Soviet working class is tens of millions of educated, technically literate, politically mature persons. Their labor more and more resembles the labor of engineering and technical workers. More than 73 percent of the workers have higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) educations. Their educational and general cultural level and professionalism is constantly growing. Eleven million workers will raise their level of professional and technical preparation in the 10th Five-Year Plan alone; 90 percent of the younger part of the working class have a secondary education as a minimum.

Thus, Lenin's dream of millions of "intellectual workers" operating today complex machines which only engineers were able to master only a short time ago is being realized.

A further strengthening of the political positions of the working class is occurring along with the transformation of the Soviet state from a state of the dictatorship by the proletariat to a state of the whole people; its social and political activity, sense of discipline, and world outlook are having a determining influence on the positions of the other strata of society.

The basic articles of the USSR constitution stating that the Soviet state expresses the will and interests of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia and that all the power in the USSR belongs to the people are realized in practice in the form of the direct or indirect participation of the working

³"Trud," 28, VI. 1979

class and of other workers in managing the life of the country. The workers themselves, both directly and through their representatives, control in the final analysis the entire state, industry, and social and cultural life; they not only put into practice the accepted political decisions, but they also participate in drawing them up. Drafts of the principal documents of the next sessions of the CPSU are evaluated by the widest participation of all society through an all-union discussion; all the principal legislative acts are thus developed. Thus, the 1977 constitution in particular was adopted after such a discussion.

The leading role of the working class is reflected in the leading position which its representatives occupy in the composition and activity of the CPSU and other social organizations. Representatives of the working class and persons who have emerged from it occupy the leading position in soviets of all departments. Thus, 766 deputies (or 51.14 percent of the total number of deputies) of the 10th convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet elected in March 1979 are workers.

Representatives of the working class comprise today the foundation of the 16-million member CPSU, the governing body of Soviet society (more than 41.6 percent of its composition). The chief source of supply for new cadres of the CPSU is currently the working class, above all workers at large industrial enterprises. It is no accident that 73 percent of the communists now employed in the economy are concentrated in the sphere of material production. A similar situation is true of the largest Soviet workers organizations, the trade unions, which today unite more than 121 million persons and which together with other mass social organizations comprise that force on which the CPSU depends in carrying out its governing role.

The party is constantly exerting efforts to strengthen the role of the working class, especially at large enterprises. Workers who have distinguished themselves in industrial and social activity and who have appropriate preparation are promoted to leading positions in party, state, and social departments and organizations.

At the same time the social activity of workers and their participation in running the state has grown significantly.

The CPSU as the political vanguard of the working class in the name of and on the instructions of the working class and all workers of the country "determines the general plan for development of society, the line of domestic and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great creative activity of the Soviet people, encourages a systematic, scientifically-based character in its struggle for the victory of Communism" (Article 6 of the constitution). At the same time the constitution, as is emphasized in the guidelines of V.I. Lenin, excludes mixing the functions of party organs with the ruling authority of the state organs, infringement of prerogatives of the representative and executive state departments. Carrying out party decisions and

the entire activity of party organizations in conformity with Lenin's guidelines are realized strictly within the scope of the constitution and through state offices.⁴

The constitution of the USSR proceeds from the fact that socialism, the leading role of the working class and socialist democracy are not separate phenomena, and moreover they do not contradict one another, but they represent an organic unity of a qualitatively new, social and economic formation. Democracy is a natural quality of the proletarian state, a direct consequence of the social and political structure of Soviet society. The working class is democratic by its very nature, by its historic role and its perspective. By destroying exploitation of itself, it was the first to destroy at the same time the exploitation of all other workers and any kind of oppression of man by man.

The working class forms a union with the peasant, with all workers, and with all popular masses, for "without such union democracy is weak and socialist transformation is impossible."⁵⁻⁷ From the moment of its very conception the power of the working class has carried in itself a universal feature, the germ of a complete, unlimited, universal socialist democracy, and a tendency to expand democracy constantly in the transition process from capitalism to communism.

As the results of the 60-year development of the Soviet Union show, the state with dictatorship of the proletariat is being transformed in practice into a state of the whole people which expresses the will and interests of all classes, groups, nations and nationalities of socialist society. Socialist democracy is accordingly in the process of constant development.

"The constitution itself, writes B.N. Ponomarev, not only strengthens the existing level of democracy, but it also determines the program of its further development."⁸ Article 9 of the constitution directly explains: "The main direction of development of the political system of socialist society is the further unfolding of socialist democracy: the ever wider participation of citizens in the administration of state and society, improvement of the governmental apparatus, increasing the activity of social organizations, strengthening public control, enforcing the legal basis of the state and social life, expansion of public information and the constant consideration of popular opinion."

Among the principal constitutional positions which reveal the democratic tendency of the 1977 USSR constitution and which represent innovative features of Soviet legislative creativity, one should note particularly the comprehensive development of socialist sovereignty of the people.

⁴Cf. The CPSU in resolutions and decisions of sessions, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee, Vol 2, M., 1972, p 77.

⁵⁻⁷ Lenin, V.I. Complete collected works, vol 33, p 40.

⁸ Ponomarev, B.N. On the International Significance of the New Constitution of the USSR. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA 1978, No 2, p 10.

The new constitution, in complete accordance with the notion of popular sovereignty, supports an increasing role of the representative elements of authority, which comprise the political basis of socialist society, the soviets of people's deputies. The role of the people's deputies is also increasing. The new constitution of the USSR devotes a special chapter to the people's deputies, and it clearly and completely defines their rights and duties.

The different institutes of democratic control and direct democracy receive comprehensive elaboration. The elements of popular control, which were given birth by the revolutionary creativity of the masses, represent an effective form of realization of sovereignty. The uniqueness and importance of this democratic institution is emphasized by the new constitution of the USSR (Article 92).

The idea of popular sovereignty in accordance with the new constitution means, in practice, that power in the country is held by:

--2.2 million deputies of people's soviets, more than half of which, beginning with the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, are workers, kolkhoz farmers, persons employed directly in production (in the past 20 years the school of state administration in the soviets has graduated more than 20 million persons);

--more than 30 million persons, comprising the active membership of soviets, and aids who help those elected by the people to solve the tasks set before them;

--5.5 million members of the permanently functioning industrial conferences (among them workers comprise two thirds), that is groups which together with the administration of enterprises in fact direct their activities;

--3.2 million members of the boards of kolkhozes who are elected by general meetings of their worker collectives;

--7.3 million members of various trade union directorates, whom the state has entrusted with broad authority in matters of social insurance, protection of labor, time off, health maintenance, athletics, etc.;

--9.5 million worker-elected people's supervisors, who along with the state supervisory agencies, diligently see that the law is observed in order that there be no deviations from the standards and principles of the socialist pattern of life;

--more than 8 million members of people's militia units for the protection of the social order etc.

In this manner the juridical forms and institutions set up by the constitution create a reliable system of guarantees of popular sovereignty. No attempts of critics of the new Soviet constitution to put forth arguments regarding

the incompatibility of democracy and strengthening the role of the state, of centralism can cover up or decrease the magnetic force of the achievements of socialist democracy.

An important step in the development of socialist democracy and popular sovereignty is the permanent expansion of the role of social organizations. They are granted broad political, juridical and material rights and possibilities for participation in the communist construction, expression of specific interests and demands of their respective groups of workers and realization of direct and reciprocal communications between the state and society. Such, in particular, is the right of legislative initiative and other constitutional guarantees which are granted to trade unions and other mass organizations of labors by the 1977 USSR constitution. The trade unions participate in solution of practically all major problems of the development of the Soviet state; many important resolutions are adopted by the government jointly with the AUCCTU. All juridical acts on problems concerning working conditions are made only after agreements with the trade unions. Trade unions of the USSR today arrange for realization of the functions of representation and protection of legal rights and interests of workers on the necessary material, technical and financial base. At their disposition there are, as was mentioned at a scientific and practical conference according to L. I. Brezhnev's book "Soviet Trade Unions Under Conditions of Developed Socialism," 3,500 sanatoria, boarding houses, rest homes, dispensaries and similar establishments for rest and treatment of workers; 22,000 clubs, palaces and houses of culture; 326,000 reading rooms; 52,000 movie houses; 21,000 libraries with a book store of more than 313 million volumes; 2,700 stadiums etc.⁹

The great deal of attention the USSR constitution pays to the development of democratization in the sphere of production is of special significance in the program of international action, and above all from the viewpoint of problematics of the class struggle. The 1977 USSR constitution grants to workers extensive possibilities for directly influencing matters at their enterprises, on the control of production and solution of other popular economic problems. The importance of a given problem and its solution at the highest juridical level is a reflection of the reality of socialism, in which the participation of workers in the control of production is determined by the very nature of society.

The strengthening of the position of workers' collectives in the 1977 constitution (Article 8) is particularly significant for further development of socialist democracy and increasing the role of the working class in the political life of the country. Currently a special legislative act is being elaborated in which this constitutional position will be developed and concretized. In particular, it has been proposed to fully define the rights of workers' collectives in solving problems of planning production, controlling enterprises and organizations, the use of funds and other matters. Great significance should be given to the educational functions of workers collectives, which have been called upon to exhibit a high degree of political consciousness, legal awareness, socialist labor discipline, honest

⁹"Trud," 10, VI, 1978.

fulfillment of civil responsibilities. The powers of workers' collectives will be concretely regulated in the selection and placement of personnel. As a part of the political system of society, they must also participate in the political life of the country, including the organizing and carrying out of elections to soviets of people's deputies, etc.

The section of the new Soviet constitution "State and Personality" examines the international communist and workers' movement in a basically important and very urgent response to today's evils in the contemporary stage of the ideological struggle in the world. Publicized and adopted at the very height of the campaign "in protection of human rights", which was inspired by the imperialist powers, the USSR constitution again convincingly showed that socialism, and only socialism, assures the genuine freedom of the individual.

On the whole the expansion of rights and freedoms of man under the new constitution of the USSR, as under the new constitutions of other socialist countries, their enrichment by new content and additional guarantees, and their setting up in conformity with international documents is an essential and important step in the further development of socialist democracy. The Soviet constitution supports the relation of the Soviet state to the problem of human rights, which is based on the principles of humanism, democracy and internationalism. At the same time socialist democracy does not recognize the possibility of using democratic rights and freedoms against socialism, against the interests of workers. "Democratic for us is that which serves the interests of the people, the interests of communist construction. That which contradicts these interests, we reject, and no one will convince us that this is an incorrect approach," said L.I. Brezhnev in his Summary Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Session of the Party.¹⁰

The democracy of the new Fundamental Law of the USSR and the ideas of genuine popular sovereignty contained in it are of enormous importance in the modern ideological struggle of two world systems, just when the problems of democracy and human rights are becoming a subject of first-order attention and competition. It is not by chance that the problems of the constitutional apparatus, just as the entire set of problems of the state, power, democracy, by defining the character of any revolution and any revolutionary movement, are constantly at the center of attention of the modern communist and workers' movement. Here we are speaking of both the theoretical and practical reality of communist parties. It is natural that evaluation of the practical application and development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the state, democracy, and constitution within the scope of the activities of communist parties of countries of the world system of socialism, and their relation to improving the constitutional bases of socialist statehood should occupy a special place in the theoretical development of this doctrine. Such an interest by the worldwide workers' movement in the experience of the socialist countries is not accidental. It is determined by practical considerations: constitutional problems, discussions and the struggle for

¹⁰ Materials of the 25th Session of the CPSU, M., 1976, p. 85.

democratic constitutional reforms and transformations in the post-war period became and still are the central issues in tactics and strategy of the communist and workers' parties operating in the Western European countries and on the American, Asiatic and African continents.

In this plan it can be said that the most important direction of the international influence of the Soviet constitution on foreign constitutional creation during the present sharply aggravated struggle of ideas and competition of the two systems is the example of constant improvement and development of Soviet democracy.

Soviet democracy has become the real embodiment of the social ideal of a genuine democracy. The 60-year path of its development disproves the convictions of our ideological enemies on the "lack of democracy" of the Soviet state. It is evidence that socialism is not simply expanding the very concept of democracy, but is giving it a new content and new aspects.

Socialist democracy in our country is the fruit of the revolutionary creativity of the masses themselves, headed by its communist vanguard. Its development is characterized by unbreakable solidarity with the processes of development of the socialist state. All the experience of world socialism is evidence that the formation of representative groups of workers as a political basis for the entire political system of socialist society is a principle of the formation of the socialist order.

"In the development of the international workers' movement," emphasized L. I. Brezhnev, "the force of example to which socialism gives birth has always played a large role. Indeed it is a fact that the achievements of Soviet power in the area of social guarantees, of protection of workers rights have become an inspiring stimulus for foreign workers in their class struggle against exploitation and capitalist oppression."¹¹

The new Soviet constitution, by strengthening the visible successes of socialist social organization, increases the force of the Soviet example, and it stimulates the struggle of working masses in the capitalist world for their rights, for democracy, peace and social progress.

The international influence of the Soviet constitution and the experience of Soviet constitutional construction play a special role with respect to the processes of the state-legal development in the young developing countries, above all in those which have entered on the road to noncapitalist development.

The constitutions of states with a socialist orientation proclaim the goals of creation of a socialist society (Article 5 of the Burma constitution, Article 10 of the Algerian constitution, Preamble of the Madagascar Constitution of 1975 etc.). The influence of the socialist constitutional

¹¹ Brezhnev, L. I. Lenin's Course, Vol 3, p 320.

experience is also revealed in the elimination of the old state-legal institutions of an exploitative or colonialistic character and in the creation of new institutions of a democratic nature, with an emphasis put on the role of the popular masses and national-democratic parties.

Abolishment of the monarchical form of rule in countries which have liberated themselves from the colonial and neocolonial dependencies is completely putting them into the common course of democratization of the political structure (Zanz'bar, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, Iraq, Iran). The experience of solving the national question in the USSR, which is crystallized in the new Soviet constitution, is of special importance for the developing countries. The constitutions of the young national states enforce the principle of equal rights of all nations and nationalities of a country (Burma, Iraq etc.), and they make use of the experience of the Soviet federation and Soviet autonomy (Tanzania, Burma, Iraq), and the creation and encouragement of the development of a national culture and written language (Guinea), etc.

As a document showing the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the new constitution of the USSR demonstrates to the whole world the constructive force of socialist democracy, its universal and historical advantages and radical contrast to bourgeois democratic regimes. Our constitution is the fruit of the revolutionary creation of the Soviet people, driven by the glorious party of Lenin, and it is the expression of the interests and longings of our people. It strengthens the attractive force of the socialist example. It reinforces the confidence of the working masses in the capitalist countries, multiplies the forces of international communist and workers' movements, of national liberation movements, of all revolutionary vanguards in their valid struggle for their rights, and for the bright ideals of socialism. "The achievements of the Soviet people which have been realized under the guidance of the Communist Party, which rests on the experiential study of Marxism-Leninism, have had a revolutionizing effect on workers of all countries, on the peoples of all continents. In spite of what anti-communist propaganda affirms, this effect is not being realized by "the exporting of revolution." Its source is the force of example, the successes and progress in establishment of a new social order, which ever more convincingly is giving practical proof of the excellence of socialism over capitalism."¹²

The USSR constitution is a very forceful argument, a concentrated pile of evidence with enormous, striking importance in the modern ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. It is destroying the ideological premises of the enemies of socialism with its content, its relationship to current reality and its bright future.

¹² Muri, F. The Inspiring Force of an Example. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA, 1977, No 11, p 24.

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NATIONAL

BUSINESS MEETINGS HELD TO DISCUSS LAW AND ORDER

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 79 p 3

[Ye. Man'ko, V. Khalin report: "Attacking the Evil Together"]

[Text] In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the provisions of the Soviet Constitution, our country is persistently pursuing a policy of the further strengthening of legality and law and order.

The recent CPSU Central Committee decree on an improvement in work on the protection of law and order determined paths for an improvement in matters. Business meetings held in PRAVDA dealt with how to step up the work and strengthen the relations of the law-enforcement authorities and the public. Party committee, soviet ispolkom, internal affairs organ, court, prosecutor's office and justice leaders and workers and kolkhoz members took part in the exchange of opinions.

The success of an offensive against phenomena alien to socialism, the speakers observed, largely depends on the unification of the efforts of the state organizations and the working people. A number of regions of the country has accumulated experience of this work. The cities of Volzhskiy (Volgogradskaya Oblast) and Novopolotsk (Belorussian SSR), where, under the leadership of the party committees and local soviets, the citizens participate energetically in the movement for exemplary public order, were cited as examples.

"In our city," M. Vorob'yev, chief of the Promyshlennyy Rayon Internal Affairs Department of the city of Kursk, said, "the struggle against antisocial manifestations is being waged along a broad front. The order-protection centers have been reinforced and are continuing to broaden the field of their activity. The efforts of the deputy groups, comrades' courts, the commissions for the affairs of minors and district militia inspectors are precisely coordinated and are sounding the same note, as they say. The fact that concern is being displayed for an improvement in the political and professional training of the militia personnel and the provision of our services with

modern equipment is also of considerable importance. We are receiving more special vehicles and alarm signal facilities."

Vladimirskiy Gorkom Secretary V. Roslyakov shared his experience of party leadership in this sphere. It is particularly important, he emphasized, to concentrate attention on the main areas of the struggle for a propitious moral climate. There are cases where a plant's volunteer militia has only one concern--patrolling the quarters of its microdistrict. While, for example, instances of embezzlement in the shop do not disturb it. If you are a real guard of order, you must be sharp-eyed always.

People's Assessor T. Lepekha, electrical engineer at the Ryszan' Chemical Fiber Plant, I. Levkin, fitter-repair man and Komsomol Committee member of the Leningrad "Admiralteyskiy zavod" Production Association, and V. Krolevets, chairman of Kievskaya Oblast's Kolkhoz imeni Shevchenko, expressed the opinion of their labor collectives: only after having united efforts and only by attacking in a single front is it possible to overcome drunkenness, bribetaking and hooliganism and to eliminate crime. M. Poleshchuk, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, hero of socialist labor and weaver at the Moscow Silk Combine imeni Shcherbakov, said:

"In some cities the drunkards literally give you no peace. We women are specially well aware of what a pernicious effect the abuse of alcohol has on families and children. Why is there not a reduction in the manufacture and sale of hard liquor? It is strange. The volunteer guards and militia wage an offensive against drunkenness (far from always actively, it is true), while in the race for the "plan" and bonuses the sales assistants are building up sales of the strong poison. It is permissible that certain party organizations are not bringing order to their ranks in the least? Where is the voice of stern comradely criticism of the boozers? Are they often given party or administrative punishments? As yet only rarely, unfortunately."

Many participants in the meeting rightly pointed out that manifestations of hooliganism, embezzlement and other antisocial acts are the direct result of a slackening in the offensive against drunkenness in a number of regions of the country. Readers' letters to PRAVDA also say the same.

"It has reached the point," M. Cheban writes from the city of Lyudinovo in Kalaushskaya Oblast, "where sometimes it is not safe for us to even go out on the street in the evening here: rows, abuse, fights. Parasites demand money for drinks, and if you refuse, they often use their fists. The hooligans and rowdies evidently believe in their impunity and have virtually become the bosses of some streets. Where are the militia and the public looking?"

A fair question. It arises where the working people's warnings are not properly heeded and where a due appraisal of troubling facts is lacking. Some of those to whom this question has been put directly, particularly V. Sharapov, chief of the Kuybyshevskaya Oblast Internal Affairs Administration,

and V. Shumov, deputy chief of the Dzhambul'skaya Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, took part in the discussion of this problem. They cited figures and examples testifying that a definite amount of work is being done in the cities and villages in the struggle against crime. But the facts show that in these and a number of other regions it is lagging behind the demand of the times and giving rise to sharp censure from the citizens. Consequently, it is now necessary to evaluate our efforts in a stricter light and strive for more impressive final results.

"There is a great deal of work to be done," V. Pankratov, deputy director of the Institute for the Study of the Causes and the Development of Measures for the Prevention of Crime, said. "There are many instances of irresponsibility being displayed in an examination of cases of hooliganism and economic crimes; the prosecutor's office and the militia in the localities do not always react as they should to warnings about petty larceny and embezzlement."

As the discussion showed, high exactingness should not only be a characteristic of all court, militia and prosecutor's office workers. In the latter half of last year alone the courts in Kazakhstan examined several hundred cases of malicious hooliganism which for some reason or other the militia's investigation service categorized as cases of petty hooliganism. Such liberalism leads to no good, of course.

It is very important to strengthen the militia's patrol-traffic control service. Instances were cited of the incorrect actions of State Automobile Inspectorate workers, among whom are encountered extortioners who are willing for a bribe to close their eyes to the criminal behavior of intoxicated road hogs. The district inspectors spend much time writing up summaries and reports.

B. Nevidovich, chairman of Minsk's Zavodskiy People's Court, observed that when they began to engage in anti-alcohol propaganda and the prevention of drunkenness and hooliganism in earnest and reinforced their contacts with the production cells, the adopted measures were quickly reflected in an improvement in the atmosphere in the rayon. But only the first steps have been taken. It is necessary to continue to improve the organization of circuit court proceedings and actively intervene in practice, handing down interlocutory orders.

The CPSU Central Committee decree demands an improvement everywhere in the activity of the prosecutor's office, internal affairs and justice organs and the courts. They are called upon to develop ties to the labor collectives and the public at large.

"The atmosphere in which we live and work," Leningrad worker I. Prudnikov writes to PRAVDA, commenting on this document, "depends on all of us. Instances of a violation of the principles of the Soviet system cannot be overlooked."

It is important to wage the struggle against infringements of the law not "by and large" but with reference to the specific exponents of the evil.

"We, for example," V. Gaboyev, head of the Psychoneurological Dispensary Department of the Krasnogorsk Rayon Hospital (Moscow Oblast), "have introduced 'observation check lists' for persons who abuse alcohol, do not allow them to wander from place to place and force them to undergo treatment."

"A differentiated approach is very important," Eng I. Klepikov, chairman of the council of Public Order Protection Center No 1 of the city of Khimki near Moscow, supported him. There is an increase in the effectiveness of the influence on offenders, and a procedure has been worked out for evaluating the concrete activity of the volunteer people's guards. Comparability of results has enlivened the competition between them and has helped to strictly delimit their functions and those of the law-enforcement authorities.

However, the struggle against violations of the laws is frequently waged formally. Insufficient use is made of such measures of influence as the deprivation of drunkards of their bonuses and special travel passes.

"Here in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon," I. Komzolov, secretary of the party committee and chief of staff of the volunteer people's militia of the Moscow Motor Vehicle-Tractor Electrical Equipment Plant No 1, said, "we recently began the practice of mass volunteer guard spot inspections. The purpose was to arrest the rowdy, the drunkard and the hooligan and assist the militia in the struggle against larceny. A good form of work. But what happened? In the race for a high 'percentage yield' of the scouts or order certain group commanders carried out the above-mentioned spot inspections merely to score ticks on the reports."

Formalism is also manifested in the fact that from time to time people are accepted for the volunteer groups by the "volitional method," without selection and training. What we have here is downright "dead souls"--those who, while doing nothing, attempt to obtain the additional days of leave authorized the volunteer militia. Certain of them even indulge in unseemly behavior and sully the name of the guards of order.

An important area of an improvement in law-enforcement work is a galvanization of the struggle against parasitism and speculation and against encroachments on socialist property. There is a large field of activity here for the people's control workers, the auditing apparatus and the militia service of struggle against the embezzlement of socialist property. I. Sazontov, commander of the Kirovo-Chepetsk Operational Komсомol Detachment (Kirovskaya Oblast), RSFSR Deputy Prosecutor N. Trubin, B. Yelisov, chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Protection of Public Order, and Kh. Sheynin, deputy chief of a department of the USSR Supreme Court, spoke about these and other aspects of the work to strengthen law and order.

There was a frank discussion at the PRAVDA business meetings of the paths of the accomplishment of the urgent tasks set by the 25th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee decrees. It is necessary to make active use of all means of state and public influence and moral education. The party organizations are called upon to strive to insure that the law-enforcement organ personnel perform its official duty impeccably and for a strengthening of the militia, court and justice authorities' relations with the public.

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NATIONAL

ECONOMIC LEADERS MUST STRESS EDUCATION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 79 p 2

[Article by A. Aleskin, first secretary of Orlovskaya Oblast's Livenesskiy Gorkom: "And a Skillful Educator"]

[Text] A significant feature: when the gorkom deals with the nomination of a leader for this collective or the other today, the bureau members discuss comprehensively and in depth not only the comrade's professional and moral-political attributes, the level of his competence and his capacity for applying the principles of the scientific organization of labor in practice but also his ability to find a way to people and be the first teacher in the collective. And, furthermore, the discussion on this score is thorough and specific, with an unfailing analysis of accumulated facts and personal observations.

The question arose last spring at a gorkom bureau meeting of whom to recommend for the position of director of the "Demidovskiy" Sovkhoz, which was recently made a part of our rayon. It was a weak farm, and labor discipline was low. We went through several names on the personnel promotion reserve list. We ultimately agreed that it would perhaps be best to entrust the lagging sovkhoz to A. Sholokhov. What determined this choice? As chairman of a kolkhoz and director of an interfarm complex for cattle fattening, Alekandr Andreyevich had shown himself to be a good organizer and teacher and an exacting manager who made adroit use of the so-called human factor. And it was precisely this quality in the leader of the collective--the ability to rally people and kindle in them a desire to overcome the lagging--which was very important for "Demidovskiy."

Strictly speaking, the selection begins with us first scrupulously weighing: 'What kind of leader would be most suitable here?' For "Demidovskiy" needs a strict, demanding director with a clear knowledge of how to enhance labor discipline, enliven people's activeness and awaken their initiative. But for a different, strong farm, where an atmosphere of scrupulousness and intolerance of shortcomings is firmly established and where there has long been more reliance on educative rather than administrative influence, it would be necessary to recommend a leader whose work style could differ somewhat in this area or the other.

Today we are accustomed to saying: leader means teacher. Many production organizers are performing this duty of theirs honorably. It is precisely the firm unity of organizing and educative work which characterizes Hero of Socialist Labor I. Pnetyukhov, director of the State Pureblood Farm imeni XVII parts"yezda, Hero of Socialist Labor M. Lupakov, director of the "Korotysh" Sovkhoz, N. Klepov, director of the State Pureblood Farm imeni A. S. Georgiyevskiy, and V. Klyukovskiy, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni K. Marks. Each of them is distinguished by a high sense of responsibility not only for the results of economic activity but also for a healthy moral-political climate in the collectives and for people's mood. Kindly comments are heard comparatively often about these leaders from their subordinates: one is cautioned in good time against a mistake, another received support at a difficult time, a third was given intelligent advice.

Or another circumstance. There are many young people in the "Livgidromash" Production Association. The young men and women have a great desire to come here and they value the enterprise and consider it their own. All this is rightly which connected with the activity of Director V. Likhman. His experience of contacts with the young people is instructive. He attends the Komsomol meetings, engages in conversation and delivers lectures. He participates most actively in the ceremonial rituals--worker initiation ceremonies, send-off parties for young men bound for the army and so forth.

The director's friendship with the young people is directly reflected in an improvement in production matters. And not only in the fact that there is no personnel turnover here. Vsevolod Mitrofanovich is able to rely in his projects on the particular features of the mentality of youth. For example, in perfecting production techniques the association annually acquires new equipment. The director unfailingly tries to get the young people interested in these innovations and together with the specialists and foremen helps them master the most modern machine tools and mechanisms.

The shop and section chiefs here also consider it their vital duty to undertake painstaking educative work. Over 250 of them are propagandists, agitators, political information workers and lecturers.

But far from all leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industrial enterprises and construction projects insure the unity of organizational, economic-planning and ideological work. We also encounter among them those who believe that educational functions are the duty of the party committees, agitators, foremen and instructors alone. "My job is to organize matters," we hear from some of them. As if to say: this is my job, but work with people is other people's business. We attempt to put such "technocrats" right.

How are the communist managers performing their duty of instructor? There was searching discussion of this at a gorkom plenum which discussed measures for the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education Work."

The speakers expressed concern about the fact that certain managers are being deflected into a wrong style, gambling on methods of rigid high-handed bureaucracy. They indulge in rudeness to their subordinates and mete out punishments for the slightest slip, frequently contrary to the rules of labor legislation. This is how some people understand exactingness. We are struggling resolutely against so mistaken an idea, prompting the excessively zealous to take a look at the manner of communicating with people of our best commanders of production, who make extensive use of the method of persuasion. We recommend that those who rely solely on a "strong" hand be deprived of the high right to head a labor collective. N. Malyutin, director of the bulk plant, and N. Chuvilin and Ye. Apal'kov, chairmen of the "Vesna" and "Leninsky prizyv" kolkhozes, were recently relieved of their positions.

Of course, being an educator of people is a difficult job. It is not enough for a leader merely to approach them, talk with them and answer questions. It is necessary to study the art of constantly influencing the hearts and minds of one's subordinates. The gorkom encourages the practice of those party committees and bureaus which assign to young production organizers, for example, experienced leaders and the best activists of the ideological front. They help their comrades master the subtleties of communication. How to conduct oneself in front of an audience, how to start a conversation, how to lead it toward the necessary generalizations and conclusions--these and other secrets of pedagogical expertise must, of course, be skillfully revealed to the young leaders.

Currently more than 75 percent of propagandists of the party training system are executives. The permanent seminars under the auspices of the gorkom are at the disposal of those just beginning. These examine the content of the classes and the procedure of conducting them and provide the necessary factual material. Scientific-practical conferences, at which special attention is paid to arming the personnel with the methodology of the comprehensive education of the working people, have also become traditional here.

In striving purposefully for an increase in the managers' expertise the gorkom is conducting the public certification of the propagandists. It is providing us with an opportunity of eliciting better the level of training of the educators, revealing their blunders in good time and giving useful advice.

The Livenskiy Branch of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Orlovskiy Obkom has become a good school of ideological personnel. Specialists and middle-tier managers of the city's enterprises, organizations and establishments, in the main, receive instruction in the departments of party building and political information worker group leaders. This academic year 120 communists and Komsomol members will upgrade their ideological-theoretical level.

We are constantly thinking how to enhance the specificity and professionalism of propaganda and agitation and to strengthen their connection with practice and with the accomplishment of economic and political tasks. And here I

would like to say a good word about the universities of technical-economic learning. This form of the training and education of managers has "settled down" particularly well in the collectives of the "Prompribot" and "Livgidromash" Production Associations.

Summaries and reports from managers on urgent questions of the social and ideological-moral state of the labor collective in their charge have also become traditional. Listening to the comrades at bureau sessions, we tactfully correct their actions and analyze whether everything in their work methods is corresponding to the high demands made on managers by the party. We actively spur people on to self-education, and it is significant that books on social psychology and production pedagogy have made their appearance in the offices.

It is known that there is a profound interconnection between achievements in the economy and people's education. Implementing the directives of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education Work," the gorkom and the primary party organizations are striving purposefully to insure that the managers be in their own collectives truly political fighters and skillful educators. This is the guarantee of the successful accomplishment of the crucial tasks confronting the workers of the city and rayon at the concluding stage of the five-year plan.

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REGIONAL

SHEVARDHADZE ADDRESSES GEORGIAN PARTY, ECONOMIC AKTIV MEETING

LD051139 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Nov 79 p 1 LD

[GRUZINFORM report: "Georgian Party Economic Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] A Georgian party economic aktiv meeting was held on 22 November. It was attended by Georgian CP Central Committee members and candidate members, members of the Georgian CP auditing commission, party obkom, gorkom and raykom secretaries, chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the trade union and komsomol aktiv, ministers and department leaders, a large group of leading agricultural and processing industry workers, representatives of rural workers, leading industrial, construction and transport workers, scientific and cultural, press, television and radio workers and representatives of the red banner Transcaucasus military district and red banner Transcaucasus border guards district.

The meeting presidium comprised Comrades E. A. Shevardnadze, P. G. Gilashvili, G. N. Yenukidze, A. N. Inauri, G. V. Kolbin, T. N. Menteshashvili, O. Ye. Cherkeziya, Z. A. Chkheidze, V. R. Papunidze, F. S. Sanakoyev and Sh. K. Shartava; N. Ye. Kruchina, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee agriculture section, and V. Ye. Odintsov, CPSU Central Committee sector chief.

The meeting was opened by E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and to the accompaniment of tumultuous applause a honorary presidium was elected comprising the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze delivered a report "On the tasks of the republic's party, Soviet and economic organizations' to insure the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution 'On measures to increase the production of southern and sub-tropical crops and further accelerate the development of agriculture in the Georgian SSR'."

There was a debate on the report.

Participating in the debate were M. M. Kadzhaya, first secretary of Akhaltsikhskiy Georgian CP Raykom; M. A. Mezvrishvili, first secretary of Sagaredzhoyskiy Georgian CP Raykom; N. C. Nadaraya, first secretary of Khobskiy Georgian CP Raykom; A. I. Kiknavelidze, first deputy chairman of Georgian SSR Gosplan; K. K. Czgan, first secretary of Gudautskiy Georgian CP Raykom; Sh. M. Etsadashvili, Georgian SSR Minister of Agriculture; B. S. Dzhikiya, first secretary of Kobuletskiy Georgian CP Raykom; M. F. Aliyev, chairman of Bolnisskiy Rayispolkom; B. I. Shindzhiashvili, first secretary of Gurdzhaanskiy Georgian CP Raykom; V. G. Meunargiya, tea-harvesting machine operators team leader at the Ingirskiy Tea Sovkhoz in Zugdidskiy Rayon; V. A. Kochoyan, first secretary of Bogdanovskiy Georgian CP Raykom; A. G. Museridze, chief of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources "Glavgruzvodstroy"; F. V. Dzhioyev, first secretary of Tskhinvalskiy Georgian CP Raykom; E. S. Malazoniya, chief of the "Chay-Gruziya" Production Association; V. P. Abramishvili, first secretary of Goriyskiy Georgian CP Raykom; V. I. Kadenets, secretary of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee; M. F. Oragvelidze, chairman of the Shroma Village Kolkhoz in Makharadzevskiy Rayon; A. R. Dolmazashvili, director of the Tenorskiy Experimental Stockraising Complex in Signakhskiy Rayon; T. Sh. Imedadze, first secretary of Samtredskiy Georgian CP Raykom; V. I. Metreveli, rector of the Georgian Agricultural Institute; and the writer G. J. Natroshvili.

The meeting's participants adopted a resolution and plan of measures on the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On measures to increase the production of southern and subtropical crops and further accelerate the development of agriculture in the Georgian SSR."

To the accompaniment of tumultuous applause the meeting adopted a letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

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